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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE REFORMATION,
FROM THE FRENCH
OF
MONS. DE BEAUSOBRE,

BY
JOHN MACAULAY, ESQ.

A. B. M. R. I. A.

Member of the incorporated ASSOCIATION of IRELAND, for discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the christian religion.

VOLUME I. *Being all that ever published*

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. WHITE, AT HORACE'S HEAD,
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1801.

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TO
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
DUCHESS OF YORK.

MADAM,

WHEN the grand-daughter of the justly
venerated Mr. De Beaufobre gave to the
world that posthumous work of her grand-
father, the *History of the Reformation*, she
dedicated it, from motives of the highest
gratitude and respect, to the grand-uncle of
Your Royal Highness, Frederick the Third.

Encouraged by very respectable appro-
bation, it is my wish to introduce this
work, hitherto untranslated, into English
notice; and I am ambitious of placing the
translation under the protection of Your
Royal Highness, as the Representative in

*this united kingdom, of the illustrious Prince
to whom the original was addressed.*

*That Your Royal Highness may long
continue to enjoy every happiness this life is
capable of affording, and to promote, by
Your splendid example, the increase of true
religion and virtue, is the sincere prayer of*

Madam,

Your Royal Highness's

most obedient,

and most humble servant,

J. MACAULAY.

Alban Hall, Oxford,
2d October 1801.

P R E F A C E

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

IT will not, I trust, be inexpedient to say a few words upon the causes and motives which have given rise to this publication; and I am the more induced to do so from the wish I entertain, that the propriety of my selection of the original may rest on a surer foundation than that of my own private judgment.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION by MR. DE BEAUSOBRE, which was printed at Berlin in the year 1785, not having been reprinted in England, nor

translated into the English language. has been very little known in this country; but where known, it has been received with approbation proportioned to its intrinsic merits, and the high respectability of its author.

The present Lord Bishop of Oxford having, as Regius Professor of Divinity, strongly recommended the original to the students attending his course, intimating at the same time that it was extremely scarce, I conceived the idea of translating the work; and my design being sanctioned by his Lordship's approbation, I have proceeded in it accordingly.

From the great difficulty of procuring the original, I have laboured under many embarrassments, and have been much retarded; but the Bishop having been so good as to supply me with it from his own library, I am now enabled to bring forward the translation, accompanied with my sincere wish that it may prove serviceable to those for whose use it is chiefly intended,

tended, as well as acceptable to the public at large *.

It does not appear, from such inquiries as I have been able to make, that there is extant in English any life of Mr. De Beaufobre; the account given in the Biographical Dictionary, lately published in fifteen volumes octavo, being, from the nature of the work, much too short to fall under that title. Two have come within my knowledge in the French language; one of which is prefixed to the second volume of Mr. De Beaufobre's celebrated History of Manicheism. It is written by Mr. De Formey, and is entitled by its author "An abridged Memoir," which he admits to have been drawn up in haste, and before he could obtain sundry documents suited to render it more complete. The other is at the end of the

* "The doctrines and discipline of the church of England are nearly connected with the reformation of Luther in Germany, and also with the state of ecclesiastical affairs for a considerable time before that reformation commenced." EVANS'S *Sketch of the Denominations into which the Christian World is divided.* p. 67.

second volume of a valuable work entitled "Remarques Historiques, Critiques, et Philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament, par feu Mr. De Beaufobre, le Pere," published at the Hague in 1742. This account is drawn up by the editor, and is professedly an improvement on the former*. It is of too great length to admit of its appearing entire on the present occasion; but it has been thought that, by adverting to both, as well as to such other sources as may be attainable, and by extracting from them the most interesting particulars, such an account might be drawn

* On a déjà vu (says the author in a note,) une vie de Mons. De Beaufobre, a la tête du 2^de Tome de son Histoire du Manichéisme. Mais comme le sçavant qui l'a écrite avoue, qu'il "a été obligé de dresser son mémoire avant que d'avoir communication de divers papiers, qui auroient pu le rendre plus complet," et que d'ailleurs il paroît que les mémoires qu'il a suivis n'ont pas été toujours fort exacts, nous avons cru que notre travail ne seroit pas inutile, et que Mr. Formey lui-même ne trouveroit pas mauvais, qu'en donnant ici une Histoire suivie, ou nous pourrions profiter de la sienne, nous inserions quelques unes des "corrections" et des "additions" qu'il avoit promis de faire dans la *Bibliothèque Germanique*.

up as should prove acceptable to the public.

For presenting a life of Mr. De Beausobre, no apology, it is presumed, will be deemed necessary, whatever may be requisite for the imperfections in the execution of it. Respect for his talents and esteem for his virtues have been the inseparable attendants on both, wherever known; and it is much to be regretted that the intervention of a foreign language, like that of an obscure medium, has veiled too great a part of them from the eye of the English reader. Of the former, the present work, it is hoped, will afford a specimen calculated to ensure the respect of those to whom they were, perhaps, unknown; of the latter, it is presumed, his life will afford a picture neither unedifying nor unentertaining. In the history, as well as in the works, of a great and good man, there is always something to be learned, amply sufficient to repay the trouble of perusal.

THE LIFE
OF
Mr. De BEAUSOBRE.

THE family of Mr. De Beaufobre is originally of Limousin. It appears by domestic documents that Leonard De Beaufobre, who is styled noble in a public act passed at Geneva, was a native of that province. This gentleman, who professed the protestant religion, was compelled, like many others, to abandon his country in 1572. The outrages of Charles IX. and the horrors of St. Bartholomew, having turned France into a kind of infernal region*, those who could save their lives by flight, betook themselves wherever they could find an asylum. Mr. De Beaufobre first reached Switzerland, and

* *Ne leur laissant plus voir en France qu'un véritable enfer*, are the strong expressions of the author from whom I draw. What would he have said had he witnessed the calamities of France under its system of terror, and the horrors of a revolutionary tribunal?

soon

soon after established himself in Geneva. In this city his son Arnauld was born; who, either by his own acquirement, or in right of his father, enjoyed the privilege of citizenship, and became one of the lords of council. He espoused a lady of considerable rank; and from this marriage sprung Isaac De Beaufobre, grandfather to the illustrious character who is the subject of the present narrative.

When the victories of Henry IV. had restored to the kingdom that urbanity which the fatal influence of the bishops of Rome had banished from it, Isaac left Geneva, and, for reasons unknown to any one, fixed himself at Poitou. Neither the titles, the avocations, nor even the baptismal name of his son are known; but it may be readily inferred that he was a person of consideration, from the strict intimacy which subsisted between his family and that of Mr. De Villette, a gentleman of great distinction in the province in which he lived, and a lieutenant general in the King's army, who requested Monsr. and Madame De Beaufobre to stand sponsors to one of his children. It is, however, certain that he dwelt at Niort, where
he

he had a house; and that he possessed a landed property in the neighbourhood of that city.

How little soever may be known of the personal titles and honours of Mr. De Beaufobre, he has an undoubted claim to the relative one of being the father of a son whose talents have sufficiently distinguished him in the world, to render dignity of birth, however respectable in itself, a matter, as far as he is concerned, of very inferior consideration*.

ISAAC De BEAUSOBRE was born at Niort on the 8th of March 1659, and baptized on the 16th of the same month, in a church belonging to the protestants, by Mr. Boffatran †, the minister of the place; his grandfather,

* "It has been asserted," says Mr. de Formey, "that the name of *Beaufobre* is not the real name of the family; that the person who took refuge in Switzerland assumed it instead of that of *Boiffart*; and that he was of the house of the barons de Baux. But as Mr. De Beaufobre is sufficiently distinguished by other means, it will be unnecessary to enter into greater detail relative to his extraction."

† Mr. Boffatran was a man of learning, and possessed of considerable merit. Having quitted France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he took refuge in England; and having served the French church at Wandsworth near London, he died at a very advanced

father, after whom he was called, and Marie de Ferrier, his grandmother, being his sponsors. From his earliest infancy the sweetness of his temper and natural disposition endeared him greatly to his parents, who bestowed uncommon pains on the cultivation of principles which afforded so favourable a prospect; nor was there any object to which the attention of his father was more strongly bent, than to lead him to virtue by the love of duty. Thus, he has been often heard to say that the fear alone of displeasing so good a father was a bridle sufficient to prevent him from launching into the extravagances of youth, had not even his own dispositions been such as to restrain him from them.

At a very early age he commenced his studies in his native city, but was soon removed on account of the harsh and rigorous disposition of the regent of his college, and placed in a family where he had the advantage of a private tutor. From the treatment he received under this roof, through the forbid disposition of the mistress of the house,

advanced age, about the year 1701, at the house of one of his daughters, who was married, and resided at Canterbury.

who denied him the common necessaries, and almost starved him, he fell into a consumptive disorder which was near proving fatal to him; but by the unremitting attention of a most affectionate mother, and the blessing of providence on the means used, he was completely recovered. The whole of this transaction was so remarkable, and made such an impression on his mind, although he was not at the time quite eleven years of age, that it continued to the end of his life; nor did he ever relate the circumstance without evident emotion.

Of extraordinary talents, and a predilection for the sacred office, he gave early and astonishing proofs.

Having returned one evening from the church where Mr. Charles Drelincourt had preached, he began to recite aloud in a room by himself all that he recollected of the sermon. Not content with the mere heads of the discourse, he repeated the passages which he thought the finest, and gave them all the animation which had accompanied their original delivery. His father and mother were at the time in an adjoining apartment, separated only by a partition so thin as to allow

allow them to hear every thing. They listened attentively, without losing a single word, and shed tears of joy. A scene like this, which had afforded them so much satisfaction, appeared too extraordinary and too interesting to remain in concealment. A few days afterwards they invited Mr. Drelincourt with some other friends to dinner, and did not fail to introduce the story of the young preacher. Every one was desirous of seeing him, and he was requested to recite to the company the discourse which he had delivered when alone. He obeyed; and without being confounded either by the number or rank of his auditors, astonished them all, not less by the strength of his memory than by the graces of his recitation. The preacher greatly struck, like the others, with an occurrence so extraordinary, loaded him with praises, bestowed on him the most numerous benedictions, predicted his future greatness, and enforced in the most pressing manner upon his parents the obligation they were under, in point of conscience, to dedicate him to the ministry; a measure which they had not yet considered, but to which this event subsequently determined them.

His

His health being perfectly re-established, a friend * of his father's received him with great willingness into his house, in order that he might resume and continue his studies. The opportunity was a most favourable one. This gentleman had but one son, for whom he kept a domestic tutor, who to considerable learning united great abilities for the education of youth. Under a preceptor possessed of so much knowledge and diligence, the two pupils made great and rapid progress; and the young Beaufobre was soon in a state of readiness to appear in the academies. He was accordingly sent to that of Saumur †, not only on account of its proximity to the residence of his family, but also for the sake of the excellent instructors to be there met with in every department. During seven years which he spent in this seminary, he perfected himself in the sciences, went through his course of philosophy, and gave

* Supposed to be Mr. De Villette, a gentleman of rank and consequence before mentioned.

† Saumur sur le Loire, a town of France in Anjou, where the Calvinists possessed a college and academy, which were taken from them in 1684. To this place they drew great numbers; but after their overthrow, Saumur was very little frequented.

Moreri Dict. Edit. de Paris 1759.

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up eight whole months to the study of divinity. His docility, his application, the sweetness of his temper, and his understanding procured him general regard. There was but one opinion on the subject. All who knew him, entertained for him the highest esteem, and loaded him with marks of approbation. The regents, and especially the several professors, exceeded one another in his praise; and the testimonials he received from them were so filled with good wishes and panegyrics, that they could not have proceeded but from the most tender affection, and from the high esteem which they entertained for the uncommon prudence of his conduct, and the superiority of his excellent talents.

Having finished his studies at Saumur, he returned to Niort, where he soon gave evidence of the extent of his acquirements, and of the uncommon gifts he possessed for the pulpit. The applause he received was great and general, and served but to animate him the more to qualify himself to support with dignity the sacred profession to which he was destined. How great soever his acquirements were, he was sensible of the propriety of adding both to their solidity and their extent.

extent. For this purpose retirement was necessary, and he embraced with great readiness the opportunity presented to him by Mr. de Villette, who invited him to pass some months at his family mansion. In this pleasing and tranquil retreat he gave himself up entirely to the employment of meditating upon the various branches of learning he had acquired at Saumur, and the use it would be incumbent on him to make of them in the exercise of the sacred function. To these acquisitions he added others both useful and extensive. He always rose extremely early, and was accustomed to pass the whole of the day in reading or meditation; so that, as he himself has frequently declared, he did not at any period of his life employ his time to more advantage, or make more successful progress in his studies.

According to the relation given by Mr. De Formey, great intreaties had been used with Mr. de Beaufobre, by Mr. de Vieux Fourneau, his father's cousin-german, not indeed to induce him to change his religion, but to attach himself to the law; because, being nearly related to Madame de Maintenon, he was desirous of presenting him to her, and of making his fortune. "But Pro-

“ vidence,” adds Mr. de Formey, “ who had
 “ other views for him, inspired him with re-
 “ solution steadily to withstand suggestions
 “ so attractive to youth.” The authenticity,
 however, of this anecdote is questioned by
 the author of the life of Mr. de Beaufobre,
 attached to that posthumous work entitled,
 “ Remarques Historiques, &c. sur le Nou-
 “ veau Testament par M. de Beaufobre, le
 “ Pere,” on account of a disagreement in
 point of time *.

* “ Je ne sçais pourtant quel fond on doit faire sur
 “ cette anecdote ; car Madame Maintenon ne com-
 “ mença qu'en 1681, à entrer dans le grand credit qu'
 “ elle eut dans la suite ; & Mr. de Beaufobre, qui avoit
 “ alors environs 22 ans, s'y ctoit entierement consacré
 “ au St. Ministère, pour lequel il avoit achevé ses
 “ etudes.”

This life of Mr. de Beaufobre is (as I have observed
 in the preface) of very great extent, and goes much
 into detail on events in foreign courts ; which, though
 connected in some degree, with the incidents attending
 the ministry of Mr. de Beaufobre, would not, perhaps,
 be interesting to an English reader. I had, at one
 time, some idea of translating *the whole* of it ; but
 the bishop of Oxford having been so good to dip into
 that work, and to favour me with his sentiments,
 (nearly as above), I have felt it incumbent on me to
 co-incide with an opinion resulting from judgment so
 much superior to my own ; and I avail myself of the
 present opportunity to testify the sense I entertain of
 his Lordship's polite and friendly attention.

Devoted

Devoted thus early to the ministry, and prepared for its important duties by unre-mitted study and meditation, and having sustained a long and severe examination in a manner the most honourable to himself, and gratifying to his examiners, who loaded him with commendations, Mr. de Beaufobre did not long remain without a flock, over whom he might exercise his pastoral care. During the sitting of the provincial synod of Loudun*, a charge was offered him, namely, that of Châtillon sur l'Indre, a little town in Touraine, the situation of which was extremely agreeable. The appointment having been conferred by the church, accepted by Mr. de Beaufobre, and approved by the synod; the latter named deputies from its own body to consecrate the new pastor by the imposition of hands, which was to be performed with the utmost solemnity upon the spot. A domestic misfortune, however, of the most affecting nature occasioned some

* In 1683 the province of the reformed churches in France, containing Touraine, Anjou, Loudunois, Maine, Vendomois, and Pirche; obtained from the king permission to assemble in synod. It was easy to foresee that this would be the last time of granting that indulgence. The destruction of the protestants, long before resolved on, was then fast approaching.

delay in the performance of the ceremony, which was, therefore, necessarily postponed. During these transactions the father of Mr. de Beaufobre died, and was thus deprived of a pleasure he had ardently desired, and which was to him the greatest this life could afford; namely, that of seeing the pastoral functions exercised by a son who had never given him the smallest cause of dissatisfaction; and of whom he had, on many accounts, conceived the most flattering hopes. Mr. de Beaufobre was affected as he ought to be, at a loss which the circumstances wherein he himself stood rendered yet more afflictive; and he tenderly wept for a father, whose affection to him had never suffered the smallest diminution.

The sorrows of a virtuous and feeling mind tend rather to elevate than to depress the soul; and the tears which Mr. de Beaufobre shed for the loss of his excellent father were the pure offerings of filial affection, devoid of that weakness which sometimes accompanies the softer passions. He sorrowed not “as others which have no hope;”—he looked forward to a happy reunion with his departed parent in the kingdom of his *heavenly* Father; and he could not better
prepare

prepare for that event than by the discharge of those sacred duties to which he was about to be appointed. It was necessary, besides, to dry up his tears, that he might answer the wishes of his flock who impatiently expected him. He received, therefore, imposition of hands in their presence on the 11th of July 1683*, from Messrs. de Sicqville, and de Lo de Monmeri, pastors deputed by the synod for that purpose. It will presently be seen that his residence at Châtillon sur l'Indre was not of long continuance. It was, however, of sufficient duration to allow him an opportunity of entering into the matrimonial state, by uniting himself with Madame Claude Louisa Arnodot, whose father was minister of Lusignan.

Scarcely had Mr. de Beaufobre been two years and three months in the church, when the heavy storm which had been long threat-

* Mr. de Formey says, that Mr. de Beaufobre received imposition of hands at the age of twenty-two years. But this, observes the biographer of Mr. de Beaufobre in the *Remarques Historiques*, &c. is not correct. "Having been born on the 8th of March 1659, and "admitted into the ministry in a synod which commenced on the 2d of June 1683, he could not be less "at that time than twenty-four years and some "months."

ening the protestants of France, burst upon their head with the most dreadful explosion.

The edict which revoked that of Nantes, was published under the seal on Thursday the 18th of October 1685, and registered in the Chamber of Vacations, contrary to all form, on the Monday following, by the parliament of Paris, whose example was immediately followed by all the other parliaments of the kingdom. In the second article of this edict of revocation, the king forbade every kind of assembly for the exercise of the reformed religion. In the fourth he banished all the ministers of that religion from his kingdom and its dependencies, commanding them to leave his territories in fifteen days after the publication of the edict, on pain of being sent to the galleys; and, in the twelfth article, he interdicted the protestants who remained from attending any meeting or religious assembly, under pretence either of prayer or worship, of whatever kind it might be.

The rigours of persecution having thus taken place, the church where Mr. de Beausobre preached was shut up; and an impulse of zeal, natural to his time of life, having led him

him to infringe the orders of the court with a little too much precipitation, he was under the necessity of first concealing, and afterwards betaking himself to flight; proceedings having been carried on against him, and sentence passed, condemning him to make the *amende honorable**, for having broken the king's seal affixed to the church door.

His first views were turned to England; but having been prevented at the beginning by particular circumstances from going thither, he went to Holland, where he had the honour of becoming known to Her Serene Highness the Princess of Orange, who was much pleased with him, and who thought it a considerable acquisition to procure Mr. de Beaufobre to be chaplain to her daughter the Princess of Anhalt. She therefore engaged him to fill that post; and he repaired to Dessau in 1686.

In this retreat his merit soon procured him a new country, with every imaginable com-

* The *amende honorable* is a species of punishment, to which a degree of infamy is attached. The person condemned to it appears covered only with a shirt, bearing a torch in his hand, and having a rope round his neck, before a congregation or other assembly, where he asks pardon of God, of the King, and of Justice, for some wicked action. *Furetiere*.

fort.

fort. The Princess of Anhalt, who was possessed of great sense, and of a cultivated understanding, knew very well how to value Mr. De Beaufobre equal to his deserts, and honoured him with a particular confidence. In this agreeable situation he increased and brought to still greater perfection the literary acquirements of his former days, of which an effect became soon visible that did him considerable honour. This was his defence of the protestant doctrines, composed in consequence of a Prince of the house of Saxony having changed his religion. This work was extremely well received; and it would have been still higher valued had not the edition been replete with errors. It appeared at Magdeburg in 1693.

After a continuance of eight years at Dessau, the advantageous establishment of the refugees in Brandenburg, the conveniencies which Berlin afforded for study and the education of a family, and the attraction of friends who had settled there, determined Mr. de Beaufobre to quit Dessau for the purpose of removing himself to this new abode, where he arrived there in 1694. In this place he completed the remainder of his career,

career, and exercised his ministry during forty-six years. He was at first admitted into the number of ordinary pastors who served the parishes granted to the French refugees. But his distinguished talents for the pulpit procured him afterwards the honour of being chaplain to their majesties, and he executed the functions of that appointment until the death of the Queen. At the time when particular pastors were assigned to each parish, the church of Ville-neuve had been allotted to him; but on the death of Mr. Lenfant in 1728 he filled his place at Werder, which he retained until the close of his ministry and his life, having held, at different periods, the honourable situations of Counsellor of the Royal Consistory, Director of the *Maison Française*, and Inspector of the French College: about a year before his death he was declared Inspector of the French Churches of Berlin, and of the towns comprehended in that diocese.

As soon as Mr. de Beaufobre had formed his establishment at Berlin, he applied himself to his studies, and consecrated to them the leisure which the exercise of his functions would allow; and in order to propose
some

some end to which they might be directed he undertook the History of the Reformation*.

Messieurs De Beaufobre and Lenfant having been directed by the court to prepare a version of the New Testament, they divided the task between them. Mr. Lenfant had for his share, the Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse; the epistles of St. Paul, confessedly the most difficult part, fell to Mr. De Beaufobre. They published their work in 1718, in two volumes 4to. and accompanied their version with an ample preface, together with

* With respect to this work, Mr. de Formey observes, that, as Mr. De Beaufobre had not published any thing of the kind, it might surprise some to be informed that it had actually been the object of his researches. He accounts for this by the length of the work, and the intricacy of the discussions contained in it; but adds, that Mr. de Beaufobre had left the manuscript in a state which allowed of its being presented to the public; and that it was owing to his great attachment to this undertaking, of which he scarcely ever lost sight, that so many years elapsed without his sending any publication into the world. "*Livrè à cette entreprise, il ne l'a presque point perdue de vue, et de-la vient qu'il s'est écoulé une longue suite d'années, sans qu'il en donnât rien au public.*"

notes,

notes, and whatever could add to its utility. The success answered the attempt; and if some criticisms were excited against the performance, they were unable to prevent ample justice being done to it. A publication by Mr. Dartis, a restless and turbulent minister, who had withdrawn himself from Berlin, where he had officiated, engaged Mr. De Beaufobre in an answer, in which he repulsed, with as much spirit as force, the trifling censures of an adversary who had written under the influence of passion. This reply appeared in 1719.

Upon the formation of the *Société Anonyme*, Mr. De Beaufobre was one of its principal members, and was induced, in consequence, to give several pieces to the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, such as his “Dissertation on the “Adamites,” which has been reprinted at the end of the history of the Hussites by Mr. Lenfant; his “Dissertation on the Statue of “Panæas;” his “Virgin-Queen of Poland;” his “Conversations upon Images,” and various other tracts dispersed through the volumes of that journal, of which he retained the direction until his death.

While labouring at the history of the reformation

formation, Mr. De Beaufobre made a digression which produced two volumes in 4to. and which would still have produced more, had the author lived : this was the “ History “ of Manicheism ;” a work which would probably have been followed by a third volume upon the modern heretics accused of Manicheism. Upon this work it is unnecessary to enlarge ; the sentiments excited by it are recent. The journals have passed eulogiums on it ; and the learned have been pretty well agreed in allowing it to display great erudition, exquisite judgment, and a candour truly admirable. It displeased only the *censeurs de Trevoux*, who did not gain much by attacking it ; and the long and solid reply which Mr. De Beaufobre made to them in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, vol. 37. et seq. (the conclusion of which is to be found in the 43d vol. of the same journal,) might have taught them not to exceed their proper sphere, if passion had not swayed them too much to allow them to listen to the voice of reason.

This is the whole of what appeared during the life of Mr. De Beaufobre, “ But it is “ to be presumed,” says Mr. De Formey,
“ that

“ that his posthumous works * will surpass
 “ in number, and even in importance, those
 “ he has already given to the world: for the
 “ History of the Reformation alone will be
 “ sufficient to make several volumes in 4to.
 “ to which may be added a volume of Phi-
 “ lological Observations upon the New Tes-
 “ tament †, to serve as a third volume to
 “ that of Messieurs De Beaufobre and
 “ Lenfant; several volumes of Sermons
 “ intended by the author for publica-
 “ tion; and, for that purpose, selected by
 “ him from his other compositions of this
 “ kind, together with a considerable number

* The following is the list of them as given by Mr.
 De Formey. *Histoire des Preliminaires de la Refor-*
mation †; *a part. Histoire des Bogomiles. Histoire*
des Vaudois. Histoire des Albigeois. Histoire des
Freres de Bohemia. Histoire critique de l'origine et
des progres du culte des morts parmi les Payens, et
parmi les Chretiens. All these works are written in
 French.

† This work has extended to two volumes. It is
 the book mentioned in the preface, and in a former
 note, as having annexed to it a very comprehensive life
 of Mr. De Beaufobre.

‡ This is a separate performance from the History of the Refor-
 mation, and is the work so frequently referred to by Mr. De Beau-
 fobre in that history under the title of *The Remarks*, evidently in-
 tended by him for previous publication. See also the advertisement
 prefixed by the Berlin editors.

“ of

“ of Dissertations upon various subjects of
 “ literature and ecclesiastical history. The
 “ whole of these are in such order as may
 “ give the public reason to hope soon to be
 “ in possession of them.”

It may readily be conceived, from what has been said, that the life of Mr. De Beau-fobre, though long, was active and laborious, especially if it be considered that he bestowed the greatest attention on his works; that he was not one of those rapid authors who bring forth immediately on conception*: exact, delicate, seldom satisfied with himself, he corrected and retouched his compositions at different intervals. Preaching, although it might seem really to be born with him, yet did not therefore occupy the less share of his time: regular in the discharge of his functions, he in consequence composed a great number of sermons, and those sermons were of a nature to require time and attention. It may indeed truly be said, that the reformation has produced few preachers of his rank. A fire of imagination, a copiousness and justness of expression; a manner new and original in treating on the most common subjects; offers surprising, yet natural, to-

* Qui ont aussitôt enfanté que conçu.

wards the explanation of the Holy Scriptures, and the truths of religion; the brilliant, the sublime, the pathetic, in a word, all the qualities of an orator were united in him, and continued in their full force until the end of his life; for even at the age of seventy, he preached with all the fire and imagination of his youth*. It may naturally be supposed that the preparation of these discourses occupied many of his hours; and if to this be added the time taken up by intercourse with persons most distinguished for rank and learning, by his literary correspondence, and in general by all the avocations with which the life of a minister, and of a man of uncommon attainments must of necessity be occupied, it will be apparent that Mr. De Beaufobre did not fail to turn every moment of his leisure to the best advantage.

In stature Mr. De Beaufobre was below the middle size, but well made, of a noble demeanour, and graceful air. He had fine

* "The public," says Mr. De Formey, "will some time or other be enabled to judge of his sermons; and it is to be presumed, that, after having had so much success before the most respectable auditories, the publication of them will not diminish the reputation which the author has acquired in that species of composition."

c

features,

features, a lively eye, a happy turn of visage, and a countenance brightened with a constant smile. In him was truly to be found that *Je ne sçais quoi*, that inexpressible agreeableness, which prepossesses and gains hearts at first sight. His internal qualities did not falsify this pleasing exterior: he was polite, affable, and obliging, and perfectly qualified to present himself with distinction in all companies, and even in courts, differing greatly from those learned men, who contract a kind of rust in their closets. By these means Mr. De Beaufobre had a ready access in the courts of Anhalt, Dessau, and of the then Queen of Prussia, whose taste and acquirements were superior even to her high rank. He did not possess less talents for conversation than for the pulpit; he was always listened to with pleasure; and, without assuming any air of superiority, was in reality so superior to others, that it was impossible to refuse him that esteem and deference which are due to a fine genius, cultivated by the graces, and sweetened by gentleness and modesty.

His heart was yet preferable to his understanding; he was generous, disinterested, humane, and compassionate; incapable of rancour or revenge, ever inclined to do good,

and

and incapable of hurting any one. If he erred at all, it was perhaps by an excess of facility and complaisance. Detesting evil-speaking, and detraction of every kind, he always laid hold of the favourable traits in the character of his neighbour, taking delight in displaying them to the best advantage, and concealing faults even when he might have had an interest in revealing them. In a word, he was one of the finest characters for society which nature is capable of forming*. Truly born for it, he fulfilled all its duties with the greatest exactness. A good father, a good husband, a good relation, a good friend, a good citizen, and a good subject, he taught nothing which he did not inculcate by example. Always ready to oblige, he gave additional value to his services by the courteous manners with which they were accompanied; and even anticipated

* "It will perhaps be imagined," observes Mr. De Formey, "that I am adopting the tone of a panegyrist; and true it is, that the esteem with which my late illustrious friend honoured me, and the tender veneration I preserve for his memory, might be sufficient to mislead me: but I call those to witness who possessed the opportunity of knowing him, and more especially such as have been admitted to the delights of an intimacy with him, and I do not believe that any one among them will have a thought of contradicting me."

the wishes of those who hesitated through diffidence to apply to him, displaying always greater satisfaction in succeeding for others than for himself. The delight he felt in befriending the widow and the orphan amply repaid all his trouble. He was accustomed to approach the great, and to pay his court to them, but always less for himself than for others; and while he respected their persons and their rank, he neither worshipped their grandeur nor even envied it, being constantly of opinion, that *the Great who honour merit, do, in truth, more honour to themselves, than to those whom they patronise.* His life was regular, and suited to the character with which he was invested; he always testified a profound respect for the holy religion which he preached; and invariably persevered in these sentiments to the end of his days with a piety and resignation truly edifying.

A vigorous constitution preserved Mr. De Beaufobre from any great disorders, and enabled him to attain to an advanced age without infirmities. His common indispositions were feverish complaints, and colds, which some family remedies speedily removed. It has already been observed that he
preached

preached with animation till near his eightieth year. Towards the beginning of October 1737, he found himself indisposed upon the evening preceding a Sunday on which he was to preach. This was the commencement of his last illness; and although he had some favourable intervals during its continuance of eight months, the disorder, which consisted of obstructions and fever, continued to make advances which destroyed all hopes of his recovery. About the feast of Pentecost, his end was perceived to be approaching, and the following week proved the last of his life, which he terminated on the 5th of June 1738, at the age of seventy-nine years and three months. He preserved a perfect recollection to the last day, and made, without the smallest embarrassment, all the arrangements proper for a dying man.

Mr. de Beaufobre was twice married, and left children by each of his wives. By the first, Madame Arnodot, whom he married in France, he left issue Mr. Charles Louis de Beaufobre, minister of a church at Berlin, known for works which announce him worthy of such an illustrious father; Mr. Leopold de Beaufobre, colonel of a regiment in the

service of Her Majesty the late Empress of Russia, and Mademoiselle Henriette de Beaufobre. By the same lady he had likewise a son, who died a captain at the age of twenty-two years before Belgrade, and a daughter married to Mr. Paul Emilius de Mauclere, a preacher belonging to the court, and pastor of the French church at Stettin. By the second marriage, contracted with Mademoiselle Charlotte Schwartz on the 22d of January 1730, he left two sons of a tender age. "His flock," says Mr. de Formey, "deeply regretted him; and will "long preserve the memory of a pastor, "whose loss, in all probability, would not "admit of a speedy reparation."

TO HIS MAJESTY
THE
KING OF PRUSSIA.

SIRE,

THE remembrance of the kindness with which your Majesty was pleased to honour my late Grandfather, has emboldened me to present to your Majesty the last of his literary productions, which, though left by the death of its author in a state of imperfection, has been nevertheless thought worthy of publication, and of being associated with all that has been written upon the same important subject. It is under that confidence, Sire, that I have presumed to present it to your Majesty, as the homage of a heart filled with gratitude for the protection

*your Majesty and your august Ancestors have
deigned to grant to all my family ; a family
which, for near a century, has found an
asylum in the Dominions of your Majesty,
and of which she alone survives who has
the happiness to subscribe herself, with the
most profound respect,*

Sire,

Your Majesty's

most humble,

most devoted, and

most obedient subject

and servant,

M. M. De BEAUSOBRE.

*St. Peterburgh,
15 Dec. 1784.*

ADVERTISEMENT

BY

THE BERLIN EDITORS.

It was not until the illustrious Author of the History of Manicheism had undertaken the History of the Reformation, which we are now about to publish, that he was induced to give to the world that work which has been held in such estimation.

The present performance was put in a state for publication by the author;
and

and his son, Mr. Charles Louis, whose wish it was that the work should be published in Holland, not having been able to come to an agreement with the bookfeller to whom he applied, left the manuscript in excellent order to his only heirs, who has committed it to our hands.

The circumstances of the times appear favourable to our undertaking. In Spain, in France, and in other catholic countries, persons the most enlightened seem generally disposed to a reformation, which many princes have favoured more or less openly. When the first reformers attacked the abuses which had insinuated themselves into religion, the common people adhered violently to their prejudices. The princes and magistrates themselves, either blinded by error, or restrained by fear, employed
their

their authority much more to preserve the reigning superstitions, than to destroy them : and whoever had the boldness to oppose them, had every thing to apprehend from the civil and ecclesiastical power. It will not therefore be possible to read in this history the services which those courageous characters, animated with a zeal superior to all worldly interest, have rendered to religion and to mankind, without the highest admiration. Happier times permit us to entertain the hope of seeing the gospel set forth in all its purity, and christians no way distinguished from each other but by their charity and love of peace.

Mankind has already ceased to attach to certain religious opinions the same importance they possessed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In France, the people are fast recovering from the

prejudices against the reformed doctrines, which such authors as Varillas and Maimbourg have taken pains to disfigure and render odious. Mr. de Beau-fobre has revived, more than at this day is necessary, the calumnies of those two writers, who had almost sunk into oblivion. But our author, whose death happened in 1738, was busied in composing his History of the Reformation only a short time after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Although Lutheranism be the principal object of this work, after the example of the excellent history which Mr. de Seckendorf* has given of it, yet the ac-

* Viti Ludov. à Seckendorf. Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutheranism, sive de reformatione religionis ductu Martini Lutheri in magnâ Germaniæ parte, aliisque regionibus, &c. Francof. et Lipsiæ 1692.

count of the Reformation in Switzerland and France is here sufficiently detailed to afford a perfect knowledge of those persons who took the most active part in its favour, and of those from whom it met with the strongest opposition. No one therefore will be able to view, without feeling himself deeply interested, the characters, the writings, and the actions of so many persons who hold a distinguished place in that history, appreciated and decided on in this, by an impartial and judicious writer.

If the public shall deign to receive favourably this first volume, it is our intention to present them with the remainder in the course of this year. The entire work will form but four volumes. The moderate price of this first volume proves that we have no other end in view but to draw forth from obscurity a
work

work which unites the useful with the agreeable; and, at the same time, to render to the memory of the author that just tribute of admiration which is his due.

Without obtruding ourselves further into notice, we may venture to assure the public that the same spirit of forbearance and conciliation, which so eminently distinguished our author, animates us; and that we will spare no pains in the revision of the manuscript, and the correction of the press. According to the encouragement which may be given to us, we shall be induced hereafter to publish a fifth volume of remarks, as learned as they are judicious; and also the whole of what the author had prepared under the title of *Preliminaries to the Reformation*, a work to which we should have given the precedence, if we had not felt
it

it our duty to begin with that which appeared to us to possess more general utility, and to be more appropriated to the circumstances of the times.

HISTORY, &c.

THE western church had been long torn by intestine divisions, when the preaching of Luther was the cause of the revolutions which will be narrated in this history.

An. 1517.
State of the
western
church be-
fore Luther.

The pride, the tyranny, the extortions of the popes, and the contempt they manifested for the ancient discipline, the canons of which they openly violated, had rendered their authority odious to all those whom interest or superstition did not induce to defend it. The remains only of respect and attachment to the see of Rome, which a deep-rooted opinion had preserved in the public mind; apprehension of the evils which religious division never fails to introduce; the power of the popes, not less formidable than unrelenting; the dread of excommunication; the ignorance in which the people and the

B

greater

AN. 1517. greater part of the clergy were involved; the weakness, timidity, and indifference of those who were in a situation to possess some knowledge of the truth; these causes had hitherto prevented the adoption of measures to reduce the power of the court of Rome, or entirely to throw off its yoke. But mankind now began to prepare themselves for such an undertaking; and both princes and people, wearied out with a long and fruitless forbearance, appeared to sigh after a deliverer.

The councils of Constance and Basle, assembled for the reformation of the head and members of the church, far from having eradicated the seeds of schism, had themselves become the subject of new divisions by the enterprises of the popes, who treated their regulations with contempt; and all Europe resounded with complaints which such proceedings occasioned.

The princes of the Empire could no longer endure that the decrees of councils, those ramparts of their liberties, should be treated with neglect, or eluded by artifice; that their churches and great benefices should be offered to the best bidders, and that they themselves should be nearly reduced to a state of slavery to the court of Rome; that their

people should be exhausted by innumerable pretences; and that the German nation, illustrious by empire and by freedom, should fall into a state of wretchedness, and under the dominion of priests. They had begun to concert measures for putting a stop to these oppressions*; and, if they could not be otherwise remedied, for throwing off entirely the yoke of Rome. An. 1517.

France, which was not less offended than Germany with the tyranny of the popes and the infraction of the ancient canons, had testified her resentment by public writings, in a manner the most clear and striking. The universities had joined themselves with the parliaments to defend the liberties of the Gallican church and the authority of the councils. Louis XII. was not contented with assembling at Tours the *notables* of the kingdom, and with the agitation in that assembly of the important question *whether there were not circumstances under which it was allowable for a prince to renounce obedience to the see of Rome*: he was desirous farther to testify to all the

* See in Seckendorf, book i. sect. ii. the letter of Martin Meyer, chancellor of Mentz, to Æneas Sylvius, upon his elevation to the cardinalship. Vide Appendix, No. 1.

An. 1517. world the opinion he entertained of that fee, by having the famous coin * struck off which bore this inscription: *Perdam Babylonis nomen*: I will cause Babylon and her name to perish.

Italy itself, entirely accustomed as it was to the yoke and to the licentious manners of the popes, could not, however, endure them without horror, and without making some efforts towards their correction.

After the death of Alexander the † sixth, that monster of impurity and all other crimes, Pius the third having reigned only thirty days ‡, the cardinals, assembled for the election of a pope, were of opinion, that, before they proceeded to it, it would be necessary to prepare articles of reformation, and to make all the sacred college take an oath to observe them. One of the articles purported that the new pope should be obliged to convoke in two years a general council, to reform the

* The assembly of Tours was held in 1510; the coin in question was of gold, and was struck at Naples in 1512. On one side was the head of Louis XII. with his titles, and on the reverse the arms of France. M. de Thou reports that many of them were to be seen in his time. *Univ. Hist.* b. 1. p. 11.

† Roderick Borgia.

‡ By M. Henault's account, twenty-five days.

church.

church. Julius the second, elevated to the papacy, ratified the oath which he had taken when cardinal; and although it was conceived in terms capable of binding* the most faithless man in the world, he violated it without scruple of conscience and without shame. He thought of nothing but to elude the council and the reformation, until after seven years of patience the cardinals who had embroiled themselves with him, and who, by the account of Guicciardini, were not better than the others, convoked the council of † Pisa, under the protection of Maximilian the first

* The formulary of the oath taken by Julius the second was as follows:

Præmissa omnia et singula promitto, voveo et juro, observare et adimplere in omnibus et per omnia, purè et simpliciter, et bonâ fide, realiter, et cum effectu perjurii et anathematis, a quibus nec me ipsum absolvam, nec alicui absolutionem committam. Ita me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Dei evangelia. Edm. Rich. ap. Seckend. p. 8. See Appendix, No. 2.

† The council of Pisa is defended by the lawyer Hottoman in his *Brutum Fulmen*. We have, on that subject, the opinion of Philip Decius, a famous lawyer of Milan. Pope Julius took up arms to dissolve the council, who thereupon suspended him. As soon as he learned the news he fell into so violent a rage that he excommunicated all the French, ordered that they should be put to death wherever they were found, and set a price on their heads, promising rewards to those who should kill them. De Thou, Hist. b. 1. p. 31.

An. 1517. and Louis the twelfth. The design, or the pretence of this council was the reformation of the church, both as to the head and the members; in faith as well as in manners. But all these measures had been ineffectual. Julius the second had made his peace with the emperor by the intrigues of the bishop of * Gurck, by promising him the restitution of some cities of Italy; and Louis the twelfth had preferred the possession of the duchy of Milan, for which he had grounds given him to hope, to the reformation of the church. These two princes had bound themselves to submit to the Lateran council † begun under Julius, and continued under Leo: and this council assembled in the capital of the pope, and entirely composed of

* Matthew Lang. He was of a noble family, was born at Augsbrough, and was made a cardinal by Julius in consideration of his services.

† This council was called by Julius in the year 1512. Julius died during its sitting on the 21st January 1513, and John de Medicis was chosen the 4th of March following. Louis XII. suffered himself to be gained over by the sollicitations of the queen, who was an imperious woman; refused submission to the council of Pisa, abandoned it, and submitted himself to that of the Lateran after the death of Julius. "He would have done better in the judgment of many," says M. de Thou, "if he had persevered in the laudable design of correcting the ecclesiastical discipline."

De Thou, b. 1. p. 30.

Italian

Italian prelates, instead of labouring for the reformation of the church, which was so ardently desired *, had served only to confirm more than ever the tyranny of the popes, by placing them above the councils, and by condemning that of Basle. Finally, an historian has remarked, that there were never seen in any other ecclesiastical assembly so many preparatory ceremonies, calculated to dazzle the people and to give them a high opinion of the piety of the prelates; but that the pope and the bishops were far from having the

* All the writings of those times are full of the necessity and of the desire which existed for a reformation. We shall give, on this occasion, upon the authority of Dr. Richer, the prediction of Francis de Paule. This Monk, the day before his death, said to Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I. that her son would reign; and that he would be the most fortunate and powerful prince of his age *if he applied himself* to the reformation of the church; but that, on the other hand, he would be the most unfortunate, if he neglected so important a duty; *contra fore infortunatissimum, si ecclesiæ reformationem detractaret*. M. de Seckendorf relates in the same place, on the authority of Comines, that Savonarold predicted the unfortunate consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. in Italy, because that prince had not availed himself of his successes, to reform the state of the church, *quia officio suo in Italiâ non satisfacisset, nec statum ecclesiasticum in ordinem redegit*. Seck. p. 7.

AN. 1517. intentions which those ceremonies appeared to indicate*.

There remained then no longer any hope of reformation; and a discontent almost universal disposed the western church to come to a manifest rupture with the court of Rome, when Luther undertook singly to oppose the existing abuses. It is true, nevertheless, that an apparent peace covered the divisions of the church, and concealed the incurable evils with which it was affected. But the malady had taken such deep root that violent means alone could supply a remedy, and which, at length, took place upon occasion of the indulgences, the nature and the abuses of which it is necessary to explain, in order to throw a greater light on this history.

Indulgences.
Origin and
abuse.

Indulgences, in their commencement, were simply a mitigation of the long penance which the church imposed upon those who had scandalized it by their crimes. These favours were granted on the recommendation of martyrs or confessors, for whom a great

* Nunquam augustiores ritus et ceremonias quam in Lateranensi concilio visas esse; sed pontificem cum suis prelati mentem omnino alienam et averfam ab ejusmodi sacris habuisse. Guicciard. in Richer. Seck. p. 6.

veneration was entertained. But the custom An. 1517.
 was soon corrupted, and the discipline of the
 ancient church, the rigour of which it was
 necessary to maintain in times of persecution,
 had admitted great alterations. Tertullian
 complains of these in his book upon chastity,
 where he inveighs against the abuses that had
 already insinuated themselves into indulgen-
 ces. There were christians who, by a con-
 federacy with judges and keepers of prisons,
 got themselves put into confinement, or load-
 ed with chains. By these means they ac-
 quired, without danger, the honour and pri-
 vileges of confessors. Immediately those
 persons who were guilty either of fornication
 or adultery applied to them for letters of re-
 conciliation, in order to their being received
 into the communion of the church. Tertul-
 lian censured these shameful corruptions, and
 attacked not only the abuses of indulgences,
 but the indulgences themselves; and it can-
 not be denied but that he has treated the sub-
 ject in a manner equally forcible and inge-
 nious, although Montanism, to which he was
 enthusiastically attached, has led him into ex-
 travagant excesses. Maimbourg the histo-
 rian treats him with severity on this occasion.
 Tertullian himself, however, attacks the
 bishop

Tertullian
 and St. Cy-
 prian write
 against in-
 dulgences.

An. 1517. bishop of Rome for having been one of the principal authors of the resolution to admit those who had been guilty of adultery to a state of reconciliation with the church. It is thought that Zephirinus was the bishop in question, Tertullian's book having been written about the year 214 or 215.

St. Cyprian in the same century * censured the same abuses in his treatise *de lapsis*, or concerning those who had denied Jesus Christ in the time of persecution; and he made use, as was his practice, of the thoughts and nearly of the expressions of Tertullian. He taught in that book that, as there was none but Jesus Christ who had expiated sins, so there was none but himself who had the power to remit them; that the subject had no right to pardon crimes committed against his sovereign; that a presumptuous indulgence, far from effacing sins, puts the sinner out of a state to receive pardon for them, because it leads him into a dangerous confidence, condemned by that text of scripture "curst is the man who putteth his trust in man;" that that same scripture is the only rule for indulgences, and that before granting them it is necessary to

* About the year 250.

consult that rule in order to be assured An. 1517. whether God approves and ratifies them; that if Moses had not been able to obtain the pardon of God to the Israelites for the idolatry of the golden calf, no assurance could be had that the prayers of the martyrs were heard, because no one could imagine that they were more efficacious than those of Moses; that the abuse of indulgences was of more pernicious consequence than persecution itself; and that, finally, if the martyrs suffered themselves to be prevailed on by the sollicitations of offenders, and if carried away by the love of fame, they required a compliance contrary to the divine law, it was the duty of the priests and deacons to apprise them of it, and to resist their demands.

It is thus that St. Cyprian opposed, in his time, the relaxation of discipline. But it is scarcely possible that customs favourable to offenders should not find support, and acquire authority. Not only indulgences retained their place in the church, but abuses progressively increased: the profligacy of offenders on one side, and the avarice of the clergy on the other, carried them to that excess in which they appeared in the time of our fathers.

It

An. 1517.

Nature of
indulgences
at the time
of the re-
formation.

It was not therefore any longer a simple mitigation of the rigours of penance, granted on the recommendations of martyrs; it was an entire dispensation from penance, founded on one side upon the superabundant merit of the virgin, the saints, and the monks, to which was joined the overplus of the merits of Jesus Christ; and on the other side, upon the power of which the pope had possessed himself of distributing these merits as he pleased, whether to exempt offenders from canonical penalties, or to deliver departed souls from the pains of purgatory*. The manner also of distributing these indulgences was very different. At the time of St. Cyprian offenders were to be seen running in tears to the martyrs † to obtain recommendations from them, while the bishops conducted the system of indulgences with great prudence and reserve, because they thought the profusion of them extremely dangerous, exacting from the penitents promises of a holy perseverance. But, instead of those wise precautions adopted in the times of our

* This doctrine is explained in the bull of Clement the sixth, which is called from the first word of it, *unigenitus*.

† Vide Appendix, No. 3.

ancestors,

ancestors, the indulgences of the popes An. 1517. were carried through all the provinces, the people were exhorted to receive them, or rather to buy them; neither artifices nor impostures were forgotten to induce a persuasion of their necessity; and although, for form's sake, penance was mentioned, it is certain that, at the bottom, money alone was required for the pardon of the greatest crimes, or, at the most, some external performances which it was even then permitted to buy off. Erasmus says on the subject, in his preface to the first epistle to the Corinthians *, " that remission of the pains of purgatory was openly sold; and that even those who were unwilling, were compelled to purchase it."

It was not possible for the abuse to be greater. The facility of pardons cherished the liberty of sinning. The abolition of discipline † left the church a prey to disorders and scandals of all sorts. Offenders, encouraged by the indulgences of the pope,

* Nunc passim venditur purgatoriae carnificinae remissio, nec venditur solum sed obtruditur nolentibus.

† Nam si semel refringas claustra disciplinae, actum est de moribus nostris; cum disciplina, ut recte observatum est a Livio, sit custos infirmitatis, quam inter validiores optime timor continet. Baluz. præf. ad Ant. August.

thought

AN. 1517. thought no longer either of lamenting their crimes, or of changing their life. True repentance, which consists in the change of the heart, was altogether unknown, and mention was made only of fastings, abstinence, and frequent repetitions of certain prayers, of rosaries, pilgrimages, and other performances of the same nature, which superstition had introduced or corrupted, and even from which dispensations might be procured by largesses in favour of the monks. But nothing was more odious, nor more intolerable, than that traffick of merits which had been introduced, by virtue whereof the good works of the dead were sold to the living to satisfy divine justice. The monks, who had possessed themselves of this commerce, exercised it without restraint and without shame. Laying aside the merits of Jesus Christ, because it would have been difficult to persuade the world that the gift of God could be purchased with money, nothing was heard of but the satisfaction by saints. The perfection and efficacy of this mode was exaggerated, the whole of devotion was turned that way; and, as if apprehension had been entertained lest Jesus Christ should partake of it with the creatures, they affected to represent him as an inexorable judge

judge to all those who dared to approach him unless through the mediation of saints, and especially of those who were the founders of their respective orders. It is astonishing that abuses so gross and so impious could have been established; but it is yet more astonishing, that the world could have endured them through many ages, and that the correction of them was delayed until the pontificate of Leo the tenth.

After the death of Julius the second*, of whom mention has been already made, cardinal Riari, nephew of Sixtus the fourth, expected to be raised to the papal dignity. The rich benefices which his uncle had bestowed on him, and the hope of becoming partakers of them, acquired him a numerous faction; but the austerity of his manners alarmed the cardinals, and appeared to them more formidable than the hope of his spoils was attractive. They dreaded a reformation under his reign.

* Julius died on Monday the 26th of February 1513. The cardinals assembled in the conclave on Friday the 4th of March, where Leo was chosen on the 11th of the same month. See Concil. Lateran. Sess. 5. concil. vol. 34. p. 350 and 351. He was crowned by the cardinal di San Eustachio, Alexander Farnese, on Saturday the 19th of March. Ibid.

At

An. 1517. At that time it was a maxim generally received, to choose for ecclesiastical superiors those only who authorized debauchery * by their examples. Thus the severity of Riari determined the young cardinals to choose cardinal de Medicis, as the most capable of cherishing in the court that luxury, effeminacy, and love of pleasure, which had reigned under the preceding popes. But the senior cardinals opposing this choice, an unforeseen accident accomplished the exaltation of Leo. An imposthume that had formed itself in a part which it is not permitted to name, burst while he was in the conclave, and seemed to

* Brantôme, in his *Mém. t. i. p. 251.* says, in speaking of the elections that were made before the Concordat †. “The monks, without having regard to sufficiency, which, however, was scarcely to be found in cloisters, nor to knowledge - - - chose most frequently him who was the best companion, who was most fond of women, dogs, and birds; who was the best drinker; who, in short, was the most debauched; to the end that having made him their abbot or prior, he should afterwards permit them to indulge in all similar debaucheries and dissipation, as, in truth, they had made him before bind himself by strong oaths to do; and they took care that he should oblige them by fair means or by foul.

† By this is generally understood Francis the first's agreement with pope Leo the tenth, in 1516, to abolish the pragmatic sanction.
Collier's Historical Dict.

preface,

presage, that under his reign the secret ills An. 1517
and shameful disorders of the Romish church
would be disclosed. Bibiana, the conclavist
of Medicis, availed himself of the circum-
stance to persuade the old cardinals that his
master was afflicted with an incurable malady,
and that he could not live. Under this idea
they consented to his election, which took
place on the 4th of March 1513, in the thirty-
seventh year of his age. He took the name
of Leo; and Alphonso Petrucci, the young
cardinal, who had the charge of announcing
to the people the new election, did it in these
words; "We have for our pope, Leo the
tenth. Long live the young!"

Leo had all the qualities of a man of the His charac-
ter.
world, without having a single one of an ec-
clesiastic. He was well made, liberal, mag-
nificent, and of a captivating softness and
elegance of manners. He was a lover of the
belles lettres, and was not ill acquainted with
them, and his liberalities contributed much to
establish them; but he loved luxury and
pleasure still better. He was not only with-
out attachment to religion, but he had
scarcely any knowledge of it; and, to speak
the truth, impiety, at his court, was publicly
professed. Thus, without taking any care

C either

AN. 1517. either of religion or morality, he employed himself only in maintaining the papal authority, and in aggrandising his house, loading his relations with the riches of the church, despoiling princes, and ruining considerable houses *, to whom even he was indebted for his good fortune. In fine, he abandoned himself to his pleasures. His best friends were the ministers of them; and by taking that road they were sure of arriving at his favour, and of maintaining themselves in it. Bibiana, whom he had made a cardinal, invented plays, and gave designs for the decorations. These spectacles were exhibited in the Vatican, and subjects the most licentious were the most agreeable to the taste of the pontiff. Sumptuous entertainments succeeded these representations: the pope was fond of them, and, in order to enjoy all their pleasures, his table was open to the most celebrated parasites. Distinction was there sought for by skill in inventing new dishes; but poisoned morsels were sometimes introduced; and the pope did not find it unworthy of his sanctity to give one of that kind to

* He pillaged the Duke d'Urbino, and ruined the house of the Petrucci, which was one of the most opulent in Sienna.

the unfortunate Bibiana, although he was not in existence during his exile, and although he himself would never have arrived at the papal dignity, but by the intrigues of that faithful servant. An. 1517.

With respect to the sacred college it is agreed, that the greatest part of the cardinals indulged in excesses *, which were scarcely different from those of the pope. Some of them were attacked with shameful maladies, the consequence of debauch; others conspired against the life of Leo, and bribed persons to dispatch him by poison; others † consulted magicians to learn his destiny; and, if we may credit some historians, they received very surprising answers; others, influenced by the vilest motives, dishonoured the purple by base and criminal actions. In general, we are informed that all the young cardinals, the number of whom was considerable, were deeply plunged into profusion and sensuality. Manners of the cardinals.

Such was Leo and the apostolical college under his reign, until the pontiff, having exhausted the treasures of the church by his Leo has recourse to indulgences to raise money.

* See the extract of the anecdotes of Florence. Seck. p. 190 and 191.

† Cornetto and Riari.

An. 1517. prodigality, had recourse to indulgences, that source of riches so abundant, and always open to the wants of his predecessors. Urban the second was the first who granted a plenary indulgence to whoever should go to the Holy Land. His successors extended that privilege sometimes to those who, not being able to take the voyage, furnished a soldier for that war, and sometimes to those who took arms, or who contributed out of their means to subdue those by force to the authority of the pope who refused to obey him. Since that period, indulgences, under innumerable pretences, have been granted to the people for the purpose of drawing money from them. Alexander VI. and Julius II. had done the same; and Leo X. followed their example by the advice of Laurentio Pucci, cardinal of Santiquatro.

Character
of Pucci.

Pucci was cousin-german to Leo. The pope, who loved him, had first promoted him to be a cardinal, and afterwards to be grand-penitentiary. He was a man who had no knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline *, of councils,

* Luther reproaches Pucci with knowing *everything but his trade*. This gave occasion to Varillas to say that Luther did not know that the pope in making him penitentiary, was more desirous of filling that important

councils, or of ancient canons, but who understood the art of amassing, as well as Leo did that of squandering. He was fully persuaded that the sale of things sacred, when authorized by the pope, was perfectly legal; and he had besides, the example of preceding reigns, under which the practice of simony had been much greater than it was under Leo X. * An. 1517.

Leo followed the advice of Pucci, and granted indulgences, the pretence for which was the edifice of St. Peter at Rome, which he was desirous of completing. Permission was given to all those who contributed to this building, to eat eggs, milk, cheese, and butter, during Lent, and to choose a confessor to their own mind †. But, what was of much more importance,

tant situation with a Florentin, his own friend, and one extremely well skilled in civil affairs, than with an ecclesiastic who had studied the discipline of the church in the ancient canons, about which, he had publicly enough declared, he had given himself very little trouble. History of France, B. 2. p. 84.

* Fra. Paolo. History of the council of Trent. Book 1.

† Maimbourg relates, that one of the articles of accusation, upon which a process was carried on against John XXIII. was, his having given to his legates the power of appointing confessors who might give absolution from all sins, and remission of all punishment,

An. 1517. importance, and more convenient, an entire remission of sins, and a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, were granted to all those for whom the living chose to purchase pardons.

The pope ordered that these indulgences should be every where made public. Disposing before-hand of the revenue which he expected to derive from this source, he bestowed the collections from the provinces of Upper and Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic sea, on Magdalen de Medicis, his sister, wife of Francis Cibo *, natural son of Innocent VIII. Leo had a great affection for his sister; and the presents which he made her, the animated and flattering billets which he frequently wrote to her, and the empire she possessed over his mind, were proofs of his affection, though proofs rather too strong. But whether from love for his sister, or from

to those who should pay whatever they were taxed; from whence great sums of money were drawn. "But," this was not done," adds he, "but by deceiving the faithful, and horribly scandalizing the catholic church." Hist. of Lutheranism, B. 1.

* It was in favour of this marriage that Innocent VIII. made John de Medicis a cardinal, at the age of fourteen years, whence arose the ecclesiastical dignities of the house of Medicis. History of the Council of Trent, by Fra. Paolo.

gratitude

gratitude to the house of Cibo, in which he An. 1517 had been received during his exile at Genoa, he presented the princefs with the revenue of the indulgences in Upper and Lower Saxony.

The eafieft method of rendering thefe revenues productive was to farm them out, and to give them entirely up to thofe who offered the moft for them. This was the mode purfued by the princefs by means of archbifhop Archimbald *. This man, furnifhed with the power which the emperor had given him to have the indulgences preached up, and to carry off the profits of them, fold his right to the higheft bidder; and the pope, on his part, fent orders to Albert of Brandenburg, archbifhop of Magdeburg and Mentz, to have them preached up in Germany.

The predeceffor of Albert in the archbifhoprick of Magdeburg, was Ernest †, Duke Ernest of Saxony, archbifhop of Magdeburg.

* John Ang. Archimbald, or Arembaud. There are originals extant in which he entitles himfelf, Nuncio and apoftolical commiffary in the provinces of Cologne, Treves, &c. Guicciardini ftiles him “a minifter worthy of fuch a commiffion, which he executed with avarice and extortion.”

† See Seck. p. 113 and 114. Ernest was archbifhop of Magdeburg, and bifhop of Halberftadt. He took an active part in the eftablifhment of the univerfity of Wittemburg. Albert was chofen archbifhop of Mentz at the age of eighteen years.

A.D. 1517. of Saxony, a prince who deserves that his
 memory should not be suffered to be buried
 in oblivion. He had been elected at the age
 of fourteen years, whether on account of the
 esteem in which the elector his father was
 held, who had acquired so great an authority
 in the empire, that he was almost the arbiter
 of peace and war, or because, in the situation
 in which the archbishoprick then stood, the
 canons had need of a prince sufficiently
 powerful to protect them. This young pre-
 late, educated in a house which was esteemed
 a school of virtue, became one of the most
 wise and best conducted personages to be
 found in the empire. He executed in person
 all the duties of an ecclesiastic, saying, " that
 " it was shameful for any one to pride him-
 " self in being superior to others on account
 " of his episcopal dignity, and at the same
 " time to despise the functions of it." He
 had taken the order of priesthood, which was
 then much neglected by the prelates; he very
 frequently said mass; and it was remarked,
 that, when he officiated for the first time in
 the church of Halberstadt, of which he was
 also bishop, every one was surpris'd at seeing,
 what, indeed, had not been seen in the me-
 mory of man, a bishop performing divine
 service,

service. He preached also frequently, a duty An. 1517. which had been entirely left to mendicants, and which was looked on with such contempt *, that an ecclesiastick of any dignity would have thought that he debased himself by preaching the gospel. There is nothing surprising in this. Effeminacy causes the great to disburden themselves of the troublesome duties of their ministry, and when they cease to execute them, pride leads them to despise them; and the more so, as they are besides incapable, for the most part, to acquit themselves of them. This prince died in 1513. In his sickness the cordeliers came to visit him, and to offer him the merits of their order to secure and hasten his recovery. “ I have nothing to
 “ do,” replied this wise prelate, “ either with
 “ your works or your merits: they are of no
 “ value in the sight of God. There is no-
 “ thing but the righteousness † of my Lord

* *Mirandi sunt, qui volunt haberi successores Petri et Pauli, ut Romani pontifices, alique episcopi, quomodo non videant se debitores esse prædicandi Christum. Nam a Gregorio usque magno, nemo propemodum unquam vidit Romanum pontificem concionantem. In Hispania, in Italia, in Gallia prorsus multi sunt. Hic, in Anglia, concionantur quidem interdum episcopi sed rarius quam oporteat. Pet. Martyr. in Röm. p. 19.*

† See Appendix, No. 4.

“ and

An. 1517. “and my Saviour, that can be of any service
“to me.”

Albert of
Branden-
burg, arch-
bishop of
Mentz and
Magdeburg.

Albert * was a young prince well made in his person, affable, liberal, polite, and lively, not deficient in knowledge, a protector of learned men, fond of listening to them, and even disposed to favour a reformation, at least in appearance, and in its commencement, provided it did not militate against his temporal views. In other respects he had the inclinations common to princes; he loved luxury, sumptuous buildings, rich furniture, and grand equipages; his court was the most numerous, and the most splendid in Germany; and to defray these expences he employed

* Albert was chosen archbishop of Mentz in 1514. Two archbishops had died in the course of two years. The *pallium* of each had cost thirty thousand livres. The archbishoprick was insufficient for these expences, and Albert borrowed money from the house of the *Fuggers*, with the design of reimbursing himself by indulgences. It will be remarked, that, in the space of three years, indulgences were three times held forth in Germany.

The *Fuggers* were bankers at Augsbourg. In the year 1370, John Fugger, a peasant of the village of Graben, was admitted a citizen of Augsbourg, where he exercised the trade of a weaver. From him is descended the family of the Fuggers, which is since become illustrious.

the revenues of two great archbishopricks, An. 1517. and one bishoprick, to which he had been appointed very rapidly. The increasing honours of this prince seemed to arise only from his own merits, from the esteem in which he was held, and from the favour of the emperor which he had acquired. For, if credit is to be given to Hutten, who was in truth his panegyrist, he took so little pains to arrive at these dignities, that to him might be applied what was said of the famous commander Timotheus, that his net fished for him while he slept *. But Luther testifies the contrary, and asserts, that his intrigues and his presents had had a greater share in his promotion than his merit. Albert, however, was like the greatest part of the bishops of Germany of that age, who valued little else in their great benefices but the dignities and the revenues, leaving to others the functions and the duties of them. Custom had insensibly authorized this abuse. With respect to title and appearance, the bishops had become secular princes; “and perhaps it is incumbent on us to pardon them,” said Erasmus; “since they

* *Ευδοντι κυρτος αιρει.* Dormiente piscatore retia capiunt. Hutt. Ep. Juli. Phlug. apud v. d. Hardt. Hist. Litt. Ref. initio.

“ have

An. 1517. “ have begun to possess dominions like temporal princes, they have passed into the class of those princes; and it is very proper to let them enjoy a right which prescription does not allow us to contest with them.” It is not, however, quite clear that the amnesty of Erasmus should be extended so far as to include affairs of gallantry, almost publickly carried on; at least, it should not extend to the most inexcusable excesses of debauchery, such as those laid to the charge of Albert, the memory of which it is not necessary to preserve.

Albert was made cardinal by Leo X. two years after the commission respecting indulgences had been issued. It is said *, that as this prince held the first rank in the empire in quality of elector of Mentz, the design of the pope was to accustom the German prelates, by insensible degrees, to yield that precedence to the cardinals which they had hitherto refused them. But, it is more likely that the pope, fearing for his own authority, was desirous of gaining to his interest, and attaching to the See of Rome, a prince of a great house, and possessed, besides, of extensive influence in the empire.

* Varil. Heref. B. 3.

The archbishop, who had solicited at An. 1517.
 Rome the charge of the indulgences, was
 overjoyed at having so fair an opportunity
 of reimbursing himself for the great presents
 he had made to obtain his benefices, and for
 the thirty thousand livres (*aurea*) which his
 pallium had cost him. He conducted the
 affair so well, and kept so sharp a look-out
 for his own interest, that he secured for his
 own share one half of the profits.

The pope had joined with him in com-
 mission the superior of the cordeliers of
 Mentz, who had the power of appointing
 collectors, and of selecting them from his own
 order. But this employment, which seemed
 at first so useful and so honourable, did not
 appear such to the superior or his monks.
 The traffick of indulgences had become so
 odious that no one could any longer be
 charged with them * without completely dis-
 gracing himself. Besides, the cordeliers con-
 sidered

* See In Seck. the extract from the manuscript ac-
 count by Miconius, whence this is taken. There was
 scarcely a year in which some indulgences were not pro-
 claimed in Germany, sometimes under pretence of the
 war against the Turks, sometimes for the edifice of St.
 Peter; scarcely was there a poor woman who did not
 buy them either for herself or her relations. They
 were

AN. 1517. sidered that they would have but a very small part of the profit, and that having already a great deal of trouble in collecting the alms necessary to the maintenance of their monasteries and their churches, it was not fit that they should go about making collections for the pope. But, as they were afraid to disoblige the archbishop, and, as a positive refusal might offend the pope, who had just conferred honour on their order by giving a cardinal's hat * to Christopher de Fortilivio, their general, the superior and some others of the governing members assembled at Veimar, where it was resolved that they should get rid, as handsomely as they could, of the business of the indulgences. The superior of Mentz suggested the means; and John Tetzels having thereupon offered his services, they were accepted by the archbishop.

were paid for at the rate of one grosch, (in value about threepence farthing,) or two, three, or four grosches; so that, if that trade had continued, there would not have been left, says Miconius, one *sous* in Germany. He adds, that complaints had been made of this abuse in several diets, but that there were no means of applying a remedy to it.

* This hat cost the order of cordeliers thirty thousand crowns.

This

This dominican, so noted as having been the last, and perhaps the most shameless of the collectors who came into Saxony, was born at Pirna, a little village of Meissen, situated on the Elbe. He had had the charge of preaching up indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order, established in Prussia and Livonia, and he executed it in a manner as advantageous to them and to himself, as destructive to the people. He was a worthless empiric *, whose follies would have been derided, and whose impudence would have been chastised in an age less ignorant and less superstitious; but who, among a people unenlightened, and prejudiced in favour of the superstitions of their time, easily procured himself attention by a powerful voice, by absurd affectation, by puerile fables, by ridiculous legends, and by impious exaggerations † of the power of the popes. His

An. 1517.
John Tetzel
preaches up
the indul-
gences. Im-
postures and
exaggera-
tions of the
collectors.

* Varillas represents Tetzel as the greatest preacher in Germany. It was his pleasure to depict him in such a manner; but the authors of that age term him only *Stentor insignis*, clamator insignis; and, as to his knaveries, an account of some of them may be seen in M. de Seckendorf.

† A Tetzelio pontificis potestatem supra omnem modum elatam fuisse, quasi Christus se omni regimine ecclesiæ, usque ad extremum judicii diem abdicasset, omniaque absolutè pontificum arbitrio commisisset.

Micon. Relat. MSS. apud Seck.
manners,

An. 1517. manners, besides, were so corrupt, that having been convicted of adultery *, the emperor Maximilian had sentenced him at Inspruck to be drowned; but he had the good fortune to obtain his pardon by the intercession of Frederick, elector of Saxony.

Tetzel and his companions acquitted themselves perfectly well of their commission. The advantages of the pardons from Rome were never placed in a more favourable point of view; and it was then seen what avarice is capable of doing, when it has religion for its pretence. They had the audacity to preach: “ that the red cross, elevated in the churches
 “ with the arms of the pope, had the same
 “ virtue as the cross of Jesus Christ; that
 “ *Tetzel* had saved more souls by indulgences
 “ than *St. Paul* had by his preaching; that
 “ as soon as the sound of the money was
 “ heard in the basin, the souls were that
 “ instant released out of purgatory; that
 “ the grace of the indulgences was the

* Luther, in his defence against the duke Henry of Brunswick, relates, that the divines of Wittenberg reproached Tetzel with this crime, and the punishment to which he was condemned; a reproach which they vented by order of the elector, and which Tetzel did not dare to contradict.

"same * as that which reconciles man to An. 1517
 "God; that repentance and contrition were
 "no longer necessary; that robberies, mur-
 "ders, debauches the most detestable, and
 "blasphemies against God and the Holy
 "Virgin were sins, the pardon of which it
 "was easy to obtain." To evince the ex-
 tent of their authority, they supposed un-
 heard-of crimes, and boasted of having the
 power to pardon them. Their profanations
 were so much the greater as they scandalized
 the holy Virgin, the worship and adora-
 tion of whom that age had carried much
 further than all the preceding ones. In fine,
 they gave absolution equally of sins passed
 and sins to come; and sold, without scruple,
 remission of crimes, and licence to commit
 them. The only inexpressible sin was that of
 despising indulgences, or speaking ill of them;
 and to prevent the confessors from turning

* Luther, in the letter which he wrote to the arch-
 bishop of Mentz, says to that prelate, "In the in-
 structions to the commissaries which have been pub-
 lished under the name of your reverence, it is said
 that one of the principal benefits of the indulgences
 is that inestimable gift by which man is reconciled
 to God. Also, that repentance is not necessary for
 those who redeem souls or confessionals. *Qui animas
 vel confessionalia redimunt.*"

D

the

An. 1517. the minds of the people, these tyrants obliged them, by an oath, not only merely to be silent, but to teach the same doctrine *.

We shall not stay to recount particularly, in this place, the impostures of Tetzels, the chief of the collectors. They were so daring, and so publick, that a grave prelate who had often protected his flock against the incursions of these robbers, and who had even been excommunicated for so doing, seeing the extravagant impudence of this man, predicted † that he would be the last merchant who would carry on that traffick in Saxony.

Manners of
the collec-
tors.

The manners of the collectors were not less scandalous than their public discourses. Dispensers of the favours of heaven, they lived like people who no longer feared any thing on the part of God, and who braved his power; supported by the court of Rome they looked down with contempt on the

* Luther, in his letter to the pope on Trinity Sunday 1518, exposes these impieties, and adds: Extant libelli, nec possunt negari. In the same he further says, Confessores juramento adegerunt, quo hæc ipsa impia et hæretica, fidelissimè et instantissimè populo inculcarent.

† It was John de Salhausen bishop of Meissen, who said these words: Hunc fore indulgentiorum institutorem ultimum, quod nimia ipsius et intoleranda impudentia esset. Seck.

opinions

opinions of mankind. They lavished in An. 1517. taverns, in gaming-houses, in the most infamous places, the money they had extorted from the people; and perpetrated without shame every thing of which licentiousness and impunity were capable. It was their publick talk, that in order to pay their hosts, their valets, and their carriage hire, they had given salvation to four or five souls, more or less; simony this of a new kind, and truly detestable. Luther, who relates a part of these enormities in a book which he dedicated to the pope, and of which we shall say more hereafter, asserts, that if he were to disclose all that was said of these persons, it would make a volume of abominations. It is true, he adds, that he could not believe all that was said of them, although there were very many witnesses who affirmed the truth of the account. But this is moderation and charity on his part; for these collectors had had the audacity to put into their compositions a blasphemy against the holy Virgin, of which Luther had only made mention as a report to which credit could not be given.

Although the impieties and debaucheries of these persons were sufficient to have inspired universal horror both for them and

Superstition
of the peo-
ple.

An. 1517. for their doctrines; yet the blindness and superstition of the people extended so far that they received them in triumph like angels from heaven *. When they made their entry into the cities, the bull of the pope was carried before them covered with silk embroidered with gold. The clergy, the magistrates, and the people preceded with wax tapers in their hands; the bells were rung; musical instruments were sounded; a red cross was erected in the center of the church; and the preacher mounting into a pulpit, expatiated on the excellence of the indulgences, and the power of the pope, with the usual exaggerations. They then disposed of their wares to all who would buy them; the following is the form of absolution used by Tetzels, and of which there still remain originals.

Form of absolution.

“ May our Lord Jesus Christ be pleased

* Tanta in reverentia erant indulgentiæ, ut ingrediente aliquem locum præcone, bulla pontificia, libro in holosericum et aureum involucrum compacto, imposita præferretur; obviam procedebant omnes sacerdotes, monachi, senatus, schola, viri, fœminæ, pueri, cum vexillo et tædis. Sonabant campanæ et organa. In medio templi rubra crux erigebatur, appenso pontificis vexillo. Deus ipse splendidius recipi non potuisset. Miconius Relat. MSS. ap. Seck. p. 16.

“ to

“ to have pity on you, and absolve you by An. 1517
 “ the merits of his most holy passion ! And
 “ for myself, under his authority, and under
 “ that of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul,
 “ and of our most holy lord, the pope, which
 “ he hath committed to me, I absolve you,
 “ first, from all ecclesiastical censures in what-
 “ ever manner you may have incurred them ;
 “ next, from all sins, crimes, and excesses
 “ which you have committed to this present
 “ time, how enormous soever they may be,
 “ even if they shall have been reserved for
 “ the cognizance of the apostolic see, and
 “ that as far as the power of the keys ex-
 “ tends, which power has been given to our
 “ holy mother the church. I release you, by
 “ this plenary indulgence, from all the pains
 “ which you would be obliged to suffer in
 “ purgatory for all your passed sins. I re-
 “ establish you in the use of the sacraments,
 “ in the communion of the church, in the
 “ state of innocence in which you were at
 “ the moment you received baptism ; in so
 “ much that if you were now to depart, the
 “ doors of punishment would be shut against
 “ you, and those of happiness laid open to
 “ you ; and that if you do not die so soon,
 “ the virtue hereof will be preserved, and

An. 1517. "assured to you at the moment of death :
 " in the name of the Father, of the Son, and
 " of the Holy Ghost, Amen." The subscription was as follows: Brother John Tetzel, under commissary, has written this with his own hand.

It is thus that these impostors abused the simplicity of the people ; that ecclesiastical discipline was corrupted, the merits of Jesus Christ trodden under foot, and heaven itself laid open to the most flagitious, without requiring of them a single condition of the gospel. A more shocking depravation of the christian religion could not be conceived; and lest it should be supposed that the court of Rome took no part in it, the bulls of the popes were not less scandalous than the forms of absolution issued by the collectors. Some of them, it is said, appeared in Germany, in which, entrance into Paradise was rated at a crown *. So little indeed were people ignorant that these abuses were authorized by the court of Rome, that nobody even dared to oppose them. The intrepid Luther was the only person who had the courage to attempt it.

* Varil. Anecdotes of Florence, B. 5.

This great man was born at Isleben, a city of the county of Mansfeld, on the 10th of November 1483*, and was named *Martin*, because he was baptized the day following the feast of St. Martin. His father was of a village near Eisenac, called Mera†. Margaret Lindeman, his mother, was of Neustadt on the Sala in Franconia. This woman being, on some occasion, at Isleben, was there delivered of Luther; and his father who was a worker in metals, went to live in the little town of Mansfeld, because there were celebrated mines in the neighbourhood.

His property increasing, he acquired a share in the mines, and was one of the ma-

An. 1517.
Luther; his
birth, stu-
dies, and
first occupa-
tions.

* The name of Luther is, in my opinion, the same as Lotharius. Ex nostris autem duo abavi mei, uno nomine, quod Luther sonat, signati. Dithmar, in his Chronicle, page 6. B. 1. He was bishop of Meriburg. These two ancestors were Lotharius count of Valbec, and another Lotharius count of Staden, as is to be seen in the genealogical table which is prefixed to that chronicle. M de Seckendorf remarks that the name of *Luther* is common in Westphalia.

† Mœra, or Mera, a village situated near Eisenac at the foot of the forest of Thuringia. The year of Luther's birth is not known with certainty; but his brother James Luther affirmed, that it was the opinion of his family that he was born in 1483. Melanch. Seck. p. 80.

An. 1517. gistrates of Mansfeld, much beloved and esteemed on account of his probity.

These particulars of the birth and origin of Luther are related in order to overthrow the calumnies which his enemies afterwards published. Cochleus was the first who had the audacity to say, that he was born in consequence of a connexion between his mother and a demon; and this calumny, extravagant as it was, did not want its supporters. Genebrard, Gretzer, Serrarius. and others *, were not ashamed to report and maintain it. The divines of Leipsick, who were, at first, the most violent opposers of Luther, studied to circulate the report that he was originally of Bohemia, a country then regarded as the nursery of hereticks. To render a person odious, and even to ruin him,

* Maimbourg, although in general the copyist of wicked originals, has rejected this fable. We are not, however, in the least obliged to him for so doing. The time was long past in France when it was believed that demons were the fathers of men; and Maimbourg was too prudent to expose himself to publick derision. But as there are yet countries in which it is believed that the evil spirit has a sensual intercourse with sorceresses, a certain Prussian, named Charles de Creutzen, renewed in the last age the same calumny against Luther. He was refuted by Dr. John Muller, pastor of Hamburg, in 1658. Seck. p. 18.

it

it was sufficient to say that he was a Bohe- An. 1517.
mian. As to Florimond of Raymond, he has chosen rather to give a direct contradiction to all the authors relative to the day of Luther's birth, and to make him come into the world on the 22d of October, than not to avail himself of the prediction of an astrologer named Juntir, who found in the stars that the most wicked of men was to be born on that day.

Luther commenced his studies at * Eifenac, continued them at Magdeburg, and finished them in the University of Erford in Thuringia. It was there he commenced master of arts, and embraced a monastic life at the age of twenty-two years †. He was led to this by the sudden death of one of his friends, who, as they were on the road, fell at his side, and expired before his eyes, without any visible cause ‡. It is only known that there

* He studied four years at Eifenac, one year at Magdeburg, and the rest at Erford, where he staid until he went to Wittenburg. See Luth. Epist. B. 1. Ep. 139.

† This was in 1505.

‡ Melanchthon, in the life of Luther, says, that this happened *nescio qua causa*. Seck. p. 21. But there is a likelihood, as Varillas says, that Luther saw his companion struck by his side with a thunderbolt. Hist. of Heresy, B. 3. p. 227.

was

An. 1517. was a furious storm, and that Luther himself was struck to the ground without being hurt. This unforeseen accident, and the dread with which he was seized, induced him to devote himself to a monastic life. His father opposed it; and, as Luther, to prevail upon him, represented the danger he had run, and that he regarded, as a divine calling, the engagement into which he had entered, by the vow he had taken to obey the voice of God, which, he believed, summoned him to the monastic life: "Take care," said his father to him, "that it is not a voice of an evil spirit, and do not suffer yourself to be deceived by his illusions." Luther did not yield to these remonstrances, but was determined to fulfil his vow; he entered into the convent of the Augustins of Erford in the year 1505, and took the name of Augustine*.

Luther was seized at first with a profound melancholy: whether he felt scruples for having disobeyed his father; or whether he pondered the consequences of a vow made

* M. de Seckendorf relates, upon the credit of an author, that Luther, on entering the monastery, left behind him all his books, and kept only Virgil and Plautus. Seck. p. 21.

with

with too much precipitation; or whether, An. 1517.
 lastly, the idea of the danger he had run at
 the time of his friend's death had made im-
 pressions so lively that he could not forget
 them, he passed the first months after he had
 professed, in a deep sorrow *. He sought at
 times for consolation in the society of the
 vicar, John Staupitz, to whom he made
 known his secret inquietudes; and this learn-
 ed man, who had an affection for him, en-
 deavoured to fortify his mind. "You do
 " not know," said he, "the advantage you
 " will derive from this temptation. God
 " has reasons for trying you which you are
 " unacquainted with. It is by these means
 " he prepares you for his designs, and you
 " will see that he will make you his instru-

* Quapropter confulebam, et confitebar domino
 Staupitio, atque aperiebam quàm horrendas et terrificas
 cogitationes haberem. Tunc ille: nescis, Martine,
 quàm illa tentatio tibi sit utilis et necessaria; non enim
 temerè te exercet Deus: videbis quod ad res magnas
 gerendas te ministro utetur. Luth. in Ep. MSS. ap.
 Seck. p. 19. Melancthon has remarked, that the dread
 of God, and his tremendous judgments, of which Luther
 had seen an example on the occasion before mentioned,
 seized upon him suddenly at times, and rendered him
 almost lifeless. But that he consoled himself with this
 text. "He hath concluded all under sin, that he
 " might have mercy upon all."

" ment,

AD. 1517. "ment for great things." One of the circumstances which afflicted him the most was the bad treatment he received from the prior of the monastery. He not only employed him in the most abject services, but he sent him to beg in the city, which appeared to him more distressing than all his other labours together. The vicar-general was moved with it; he directed the prior to allow him time for study, and recommended to Luther to attach himself above all things to the reading of the sacred scriptures, and to learn the text by heart. He had been a full year among the Augustins when a Latin bible fell, for the first time, into his hands. Until then he had been ignorant that there were other passages of scripture* besides those which were to be met with in the liturgies and breviaries.

In the mean time he betook himself to the study of scholastic theology; and as he had a quick understanding, and an easy elocution, he penetrated into difficulties, and knew how

* A professor preaching in the council of Constance remarks, that there were prelates who had never read more than some passages of scripture, which they found here and there in the canon law. *Litt. Hist. of Reform.* Part 3. p. 59.

to develope them in a manner so plain and An. 1517. easy, as to astonish all that heard him. He could repeat almost word for word the works of Biel, of the bishop of Cambray, and others. He was perfectly master of the writings of Occam, the subtilty of which he preferred to that of Scotus or Thomas Aquinas, and he had read with care those of the chancellor Gerson.

He was so passionately fond of *study, that he has sometimes passed near five weeks without sleep: and such prodigious exertions, by impairing his health, impaired also, in some degree, his natural liveliness. Attached to his studies and meditations, he could not resolve within himself to interrupt them. In order to go through the service of the day, it was his custom, after having fulfilled the duties of his order, to shut himself up in his chamber, and there, during the fast, he em-

* Luther had as a master, among others, John of Grevenstein, a learned and pious man, whom he had often heard say that the council of Constance had condemned John Hufs unjustly. He had paid attention to this discourse, and having found in the library of Erford some works of this martyr, he read a little of them, but very soon rejected them from scruples of conscience: he dreaded lest he should imbibe from them the poison of heresy. Wolf. Lect. Mem. vol. ii. p. 73.

An. 1517. ployed a whole day in repeating the service of several weeks. He relaxed his mind, however, by some innocent diversions, into which piety almost always entered. He loved music, and was not ill skilled in it; and when he was attacked with melancholy, he dissipated it by singing hymns and psalms. At other times he exercised himself in turning, and used to say to his friends, “that if
“the world would not support him, he
“would gain his livelihood by the work of
“his hands.”

Luther takes
orders, and
teaches phi-
losophy.

Such were the first employments of Luther in the monastery. He took orders in 1507*, and the year following he was called to Wittenberg to teach philosophy there; and distinguished himself by his learning, by his acuteness, by the vivacity of his wit, and by the freedom of his sentiments. It was doubtless this which gave occasion to a doctor of the University, who had acquired such a reputation, that he was called *the light of the world* †, to predict “that that young
“monk

* This was on the Sunday called *Cantate*.

† He was a doctor of laws and of phisick, and was called Martin Polichius, and, according to the custom of these times, Melrichstadius, because he was of Melrichstadt

“ monk would perplex all the doctors, and An. 1517.
 “ that he would change the learning of the
 “ schools.” But it was not known on what
 foundation a cordelier of Rome took it into
 his head to prophecy “ that there would be a
 “ hermit who would attack the pope;”
 words, which the vicar-general Staupitz had
 himself heard, and which he could not avoid
 applying to Luther, who was of the order of
 the hermits of St. Augustin.

The contests of his order having called
 him to Rome *, he acquitted himself of his
 commission with success; but when relating
 the incidents of that journey, he constantly
 called to his recollection the impiety of the
 Italian priests, who, seeing him officiate with
 much devotion and attention †, *made diversion*
of him, and desired him to go on faster.

On

richstadt in Franconia. Sæpe dixit tantam esse vim in
 hoc viro, ut plane præfagiret, mutaturum esse vulgare
 doctrinæ genus, quod tunc unicum in scholis habeba-
 tur. This is what Melanchthon reports.

* Luther was at Rome in 1510.

† Quod cum ipse magna cum devotione sacra cele-
 braret, ab Italis sacerdotibus derisus, et festinare jussus
 fuerit. Seck. p. 29. Celebrans missam, antequam
 ipse unam absolveret, septem vidit fieri et finiri, di-
 centibus sacrificis: *passa, passa*, id est, *propera, perge,*
et remitte matri filium, nec diu detine. Audivit
 quoque

AN. 1517. On his return from Rome, his brethren, the Augustins, solicited him to take the degree of doctor of divinity. He declined it; and Staupitz said to him one day, with a smile, “that it appeared to him that God was preparing great events in heaven and on earth; and that in order to execute them, he would have occasion for youthful and laborious doctors.” The vicar-general had some knowledge of the abuses; but it did not at all appear that he dreamed of attacking the see of Rome. Such enterprises could not enter into the mind of any one; and the reflections of Staupitz can only be considered as thoughts which spring up suddenly in a person’s mind without his knowing the cause, and which are uttered without design.

quoque alios referentes verba sacrificorum nonnullorum, quomodo panem et calicem consecrare solent videlicet: *panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis.* Ap. Hott. Hist. Eccles. pars 5. p. 847.

When Luther was celebrating mass, he saw seven masses begun and ended before he himself had got through a single one, the priests in the mean time saying, *passa, passa*, make haste, make haste! send the son to the mother, and don’t keep him long! He heard also other people repeating the words of some of the officiating priests, in what manner they consecrated the bread and the cup, viz. Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain. Wine thou art; wine thou shalt remain.

Luther.

Luther was made a doctor of divinity in An. 1517. the University of Wittemberg, on the 19th of October 1512.* *Andrew Rodenstein*, sur-named *Carlostadt*, from the place of his birth, presided at his admission, and the elector of Saxony paid the expences of the ceremony. The new doctor, encouraged by the degree he had just taken, gave himself up entirely to the reading of the scripture, and of the fathers, especially of St. Augustin. He studied at the same time the Greek and Latin languages, for the purpose of reading the sacred books in the originals. At this period it was that his sentiments underwent a change; and that, finding scholastic theology full of human opinions and vain subtilties, he began to despise it, as well as the philosophy of Aristotle on which it had been founded. He looked upon this philosopher, hitherto so respected in the schools as an ill-natured critic, who presumed to censure those who entertained opinions better founded than his own: and as Luther was possessed of courage equal to his penetration, he delivered

* Luther was created doctor at the age of twenty-nine years, on the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Wittemberg, at which period public teaching had commenced.

E

his

An. 1517. his opinions in an open and decided manner, a circumstance which rendered him suspected of heresy*, some years before the dispute concerning indulgences.

His first lectures in theology were upon the Psalms, and the Epistle to the Romans. Every body went to hear him; and it was with much pleasure and extraordinary edification that people now began to hear the divine doctrines of scripture explained in the schools with elegance and perspicuity, disencumbered of the barbarous terms and trifling distinctions of the schoolmen, whom he scarcely ever cited in his lectures, in which it was his

* Mathesius and Melanchthon affirm this. It appears by his letters to Spalatin in 1514 and 1516, that he undertook the defence of Caprion against the Monks; and also by a letter of February 8th 1516, to John Lang, whom he esteemed as little as he did Aristotle, which at that time was absolute heresy. It must be allowed that he delivers his sentiments on this subject in a very extraordinary manner: "Nisi caro fuisset Aristoteles, non pueret se dicere diabolum fuisse.—Unless Aristotle had been flesh and blood, he should not have hesitated to pronounce him a devil." This would have been a terrible piece of blasphemy if it had been known; but what Luther has written in his letters must not be taken in too strict a sense. He was a man of quick feeling, who wrote whatever came into his mind, and who would, doubtless, have corrected a number of expressions, if he had been of a cooler temperament.

custom

custom to quote only the scriptures and the fathers. He had already adopted the opinion of justification by faith without works. An. 1517.

Luther had imbibed this opinion since the second year after he had entered into orders, from an old monk, who consoled him when ill. This good old man exhorted him to receive remission of sins by faith, and supported his advice by a passage from St. Bernard. The reading of the holy scriptures and of St. Augustin completely confirmed him in that opinion; and in the year 1516 he wrote to a friar of the order of St. Austin, who was a friend of his, “ I should be glad “ to know what you think, and whether your “ soul, at last disgusted with its own righteousness, has learned to place its confidence in JESUS CHRIST alone, and in “ his righteousness.” He also published theses on the efficacy of free-will. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of the work, to speak more fully of his tenets on this head; but it may here be remarked, that, having been commissioned by Staupitz to visit the monasteries of Meissen and Thuringia *, he

His sentiments upon justification and free-will.

* There were about forty monasteries in these two provinces.

An. 1517. delivered his opinion so freely, that George Duke of Saxony, before whom * he preached, was offended at it; and began from that time to conceive that hatred towards him which he never lost. At the same time he drew on himself the animosity of the Dominicans, for having treated with disrespect the tenets of St. Thomas.

This is pretty nearly what is known of the opinions and occupations of Luther, before the famous dispute concerning indulgences. We shall not attempt, further, in this place, to give the character of this great man, or to prepossess the mind of the reader by an advantageous portrait. It is better to leave each person at full liberty to form a just idea of his disposition and sentiments, and to ground it on his actions and on his works, which shall be faithfully represented in this history. But, we can scarcely avoid retouching those portraits of Luther, which we find in the modern historians of the Roman church. It is agreed that they are worked up with art; but it must also be admitted that there is neither judgment nor probability

* He preached at Dresden, where the duke resided, in the chapel of his chateau.

in them; and that they are almost entirely the work of a bold imagination and an incensed malice. An. 1517.

“ Martin Luther * (to use the words
 “ of Varillas) collected in his person all the
 “ good and all the bad qualities which the
 “ holy fathers had observed in the hereticks
 “ of their times.” We see in this the spirit
 of Varillas, and the character of his historical
 writings. He is a man whose only wish is
 to shine, to surprise, and to dazzle the reader
 by bold traits, which appear ingenious, with-
 out being at all concerned whether they are
 just and natural. Not only what he advances
 of Luther is false, but it is badly devised: for,
 besides that the ancient hereticks were pos-
 sessed of qualities so various that no one could
 range them in the same class, it is certain
 that those of the greater part were extremely
 different from the qualities which he at-
 tributes to Luther. These ancient leaders of
 sects have often affected great austerity, and
 he represents Luther as a libertine. They
 distinguished themselves by fasts, by mor-
 tifications, by a severe discipline; such was,
 in particular, the character of Montanus,

*Criticism of
 Varillas on
 the charac-
 ter of Lu-
 ther.*

* Hist. of Heresy. vol. i. p. 225.

An. 1517. Novatius, and many others; and Luther is described by this author as a man who was fond of good cheer, and attached to pleasure, and who addicted him to excesses. They presented an exterior humble and devout; Luther, as Varillas informs us, had a disgusting vanity, and a pride which manifested itself in his whole deportment. If Luther had much wit and learning; if he knew the art of moving and calming the passions; these are qualities in which hereticks are frequently deficient: and it cannot be imagined that a man would be put into the inquisition for possessing them. It is impossible to give a just idea of the qualities of an heretick: error insinuates itself into all minds, and it is rashness to attempt to discriminate those who are susceptible of it.

Varillas proceeds and relates, in his manner, the faults and the good qualities of Luther. We agree with him that he was learned, eloquent, subtil, laborious, intrepid, firm in his opinions; but we maintain, that if he shewed any ambition to surpass * others,

• Maimbourg himself here refutes Varillas. He says, p. 30. b 1. "that dissimulation was not very
"suitable to the disposition of Luther, who was but
"little inclined to play the hypocrite for any length of
"time."

far

far from practising an Italian dissimulation, An. 1517. he had all the ancient candour of his nation, and even an ingenuouſness and an openness of heart, which often extended to imprudence. Instead of seeking for entertainments, he avoided them; and so little was he attached to good cheer, that he preferred the simple fare of his monastery to the highest delicacies. If his constitution was robust, and inclinable to pleasure, he subdued it by watchings and by labour. It was a subject for the exercise of his virtue: and his enemies agree that his reputation was without blemish in the year 1517, that is to say at the age of thirty-five years; and that he lived six years longer in a state of celibacy, without any one daring to accuse him of having violated it; a conduct which did him the more honour, as he lived in an age in which, certainly, ecclesiastics did not pique themselves upon great regularity in that respect. It is, however, allowed that he was not without faults; and his enemies would have had more ground to reproach him with them, if he had not had the sincerity to avow them himself on many occasions. But it may be said, that some of them were such as appeared necessarily to enter into the composition of a man destined “to

An. 1517. “*chastise and to correct the world,*” as Erasmus said of him. The picture that Maimbourg has drawn of Luther possesses the same character as that drawn by Varillas, unless that the execution of it is not quite so bad; and, in general, Maimbourg is more accurate and conformable to truth than the former.

Luther begins to preach against indulgences.

While Luther was quietly teaching at Wittenberg, the collectors, who were overrunning all Germany, came into the diocese of Magdeburg. Tetzel, the most celebrated of all, preached there*. Luther, who had given himself but little trouble to inquire into the substance of indulgences †, seeing the people of

* Tetzel began to preach up indulgences in the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, the dukes of Saxony not having been willing to allow him to preach in their dominions, which had been drained by similar exactions.

† Ego vero, ita me Christus Servator salvet, nescirem quid essent indulgentiæ. See the account given by Luther in 1541. in his apology against Henry of Brunswick. Luther, moreover, was at that time fully persuaded that the Roman church was pure. Op. Luth. fol. 50. Mirificè sibi placere dicit, quod ad eam fidem, quam Romana ecclesia profitetur, omnium fides debeat confirmari. Ibid. fol. 116. Romanum pontificem huc usque non magno errore repertum fuisse maculatum. Ibid. fol. 50. Gratias ago Christo, quod hanc

of Wittenberg running in crowds to buy them, contented himself with preaching that there were things to be done more agreeable to God, and more conducive to salvation, than tumultuously flocking to procure pardons. This sermon was delivered in the church of the Augustins : but as it was too small for the great concourse of people who came to hear him, he was requested to preach in the church of the castle, where he nearly repeated the same things. The elector was much displeased with the discourse. He had founded the church, and had plentifully supplied it with indulgences to attract the devotions of the people. For this reason Luther, who did not wish to offend this prince, and who, besides, was not yet acquainted either with the magnitude or the importance of the abuses, imposed silence on himself*.

The

hanc unam ecclesiam in terris ita servat, ut nunquam a vera fide ullo suo decreto recesserit, &c. In Præf. Op. Scias, lector, me fuisse aliquando monachum et papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus papæ, ut paratissimus fuisssem omnes, si potuisssem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari, qui papæ una syllaba obedientiam detrectarent.

* Silebam ita, et negligebam omnia, cum ad me præferretur quanta de indulgentiis jactaret Tetzeli.

Luther,

An. 1517.

The general attention was, in the mean while, engaged by the excesses of the collectors, by their irregular life, by their avarice, and by the scandalous doctrines which they preached to the people. It happened also, that persons who had committed crimes, and who had come to confess to Luther, refused to undergo the penances which he imposed on them, under the pretext that they had indulgences; and he, on his part, refused to absolve them *. They complained of this to Tetzel, who was then preaching in the little town of Jutterbok, in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, and who was so highly irritated, that, when declaiming against those who rejected the indulgences and doubted the pope's authority, he menaced them with the inquisition, and had

Luther, moreover, in this sermon regulated the alms as follows. 1. To the poor. 2. To ornamenting the churches. 3. To the repairs of the great church of St. Peter at Rome. The interests of Rome he placed last of all, and this was a terrible heresy. The poor and the churches where the alms were given took the precedence, and St. Peter of Rome was only allowed (if we may use the expression) the superfluity of a superfluity.

* In the manuscript account by Miconius. Seck. p. 17.

actually

actually a pile of wood made up in the market place, as if he intended to burn them in effigy. An. 1517.

Luther on being informed of the violence and tyranny of this Dominican grew warm, became angry in his turn, set himself to examine into the real nature of indulgences, and composed theses which contained ninety-five propositions. Some of them were categorical, others hypothetical, and some of them sapped the very foundation of indulgences, although the object of the dispute was merely to check the abuses, and not to abolish the use of them. First declarations of Luther against indulgences.

The following is the substance of these propositions:

“ That the life of a christian ought to be
 “ a perpetual penance; that the pope has
 “ full power to remit canonical penalties;
 “ but that, with respect to those due to divine
 “ justice, he has only the right to declare
 “ the remission of them; that the canons re-
 “ specting penance do not extend to the
 “ deceased; that if they had power to remit
 “ all punishments, and even those of pur-
 “ gatory, it could only be in favour of a few
 “ persons eminent in virtue; that the money
 “ with which indulgences are purchased may
 “ considerably

An. 1517. “ considerably augment the profits and avarice
 “ of the collectors, but that the efficacy of
 “ the voice of the church can only depend on
 “ the will of God ; that those who rest satisfied
 “ of their salvation, and have no other
 “ foundation for their confidence but letters
 “ of pardon, will assuredly be damned, as
 “ well as the teachers of so pernicious a doctrine ;
 “ that every christian who feels a
 “ sincere contrition for his sins, has the full
 “ remission of them without the assistance of
 “ the pope’s letters ; that they are not, however,
 “ to be despised, because they are a
 “ declaration of the pardon which God
 “ vouchsafes to sinners ; that those who teach
 “ that repentance is not requisite for those
 “ who redeem souls, or purchase confessions *,
 “ preach doctrines which are not
 “ christian ; that it is necessary to apprise
 “ the people that the intention of the pope
 “ is not that indulgences should be con-

* In the schools those writings which contain the form of confession are called *confessionals*; and at the court of Rome *confessionals* are permissions granted by the popes, in virtue of which each person can choose a confessor ; and this confessor has the power of absolving in all reserved cases, or, at least, in the greater part of them.

“ dered

“ dered as equal to works of mercy, because An. 1517.
 “ charity renders a man more excellent,
 “ whereas indulgences serve only to secure
 “ him from punishment; that if they were
 “ really necessary to the salvation, or to the
 “ repose of souls, the pope ought to sell the
 “ great church of St. Peter to give the poor
 “ wherewith to purchase them, rather than
 “ to require money from the poor themselves
 “ to construct that edifice; that the treasure
 “ which the church distributes is neither
 “ that of the merits of Jesus Christ, nor of
 “ the saints, because neither the one nor the
 “ other depend on the pope; that the true
 “ treasure of indulgences is the gospel of the
 “ grace and glory of God; that this gospel
 “ was, to the apostles, a net to catch men,
 “ whereas indulgences are only a net to catch
 “ their money; that the commissaries of the
 “ pope ought to be received with respect, but
 “ that the obligation is yet greater to pre-
 “ vent them from preaching up their idle
 “ notions, by abusing the authority of the
 “ pope.”

To these several propositions Luther
 added questions which he put into the mouth
 of the people, whom the inconsiderate dis-
 courses delivered furnished with occasion for
 asking

AN. 1517. asking them: as, “ Why the pope, who
 “ liberates souls from purgatory for money,
 “ does not do it for charity? Why the an-
 “ niversaries * of the dead are still continued,
 “ if the souls are delivered from purgatory
 “ by means of the pardons? Why the canons
 “ of penance †, abolished so long ago, were
 “ continued in use only to afford occasion
 “ for redeeming souls? Why the pope, who
 “ was so rich, did not build one place of
 “ worship at least, at his own expence, rather
 “ than at that of the poor members of the
 “ church?” Luther concluded by protesting
 that he was ready to receive instructions if he
 were in error; that he was by no means so
 presumptuous as to set his opinion above that
 of all the world; but that he was, on the
 other hand, by no means so stupid as to pre-
 fer mere human fables to the word of God.

There is so much good sense and so much
 conviction in these propositions that it is im-

* These were yearly obits, or services, said for a
 deceased person once every year. M.

† According to the canons a seven-years penance
 was imposed for a mortal offence; and as persons who
 had committed many such could not accomplish their
 penance in this life, it followed, according to the theo-
 logy of the collectors, that they must either buy in-
 dulgences, or complete their penance in purgatory.

possible

possible they should not have pleased and An. 1517.
 persuaded. They were publicly maintained
 in the University of Wittenberg, and Luther
 sent them to the archbishop of Magdeburg,
 with a very strong, but very submissive let-
 ter*, in which he represented to that prelate
 the greatness and importance of the abuses,
 conjured him, for the sake of his own salva-
 tion and that of his flock, to put a stop to
 the licentiousness of the collectors, and, in
 particular, to suppress the instructions that
 were printed under his name: "For fear,"
 adds he, "that some one should undertake
 "to refute them, which would not do honour
 "to your highness; and I should be ex-
 "tremely sorry that such a thing should
 "happen, but I fear it may happen, if care
 "be not speedily taken to prevent it." He
 wrote at the same time to the bishop of
 Brandenburg†, in the diocese in which the

* The letter is dated on the eve of All-saints 1517.
 No one could express himself with more respect and
 humility than Luther did. *Testis mihi est Dominus*
Jesus, quod meæ parvitas et turpitudinis mihi con-
scius, diu jam distuli, quod nunc perfricta fronte per-
ficio. Dignetur tua celsitudo ad pulverem unum in-
tendere, et votum meum pro tua pontificali clementia
intelligere.

† Jerome Scultet, who had been made bishop of
 Brandenburg in 1507.

An. 1517. town of Wittenberg was. The bishop replied, that he ought to take care what he was about*; that he was attacking the power of the church; that he would bring great troubles on himself; and that he would do better to remain quiet.

Two ser-
mons by Lu-
ther upon
indulgences
and upon re-
pentance.

From disputation Luther passed to preach-
ing, and composed two sermons, very short,
but very solid: the one upon indulgences,
the other upon repentance. He represented
to the people, that repentance consisting of
three parts, contrition, confession, and satis-
faction, it was only the last which could be
remitted by indulgences, and that the two
former were invariably to be practised; that
these satisfactions included fasting, prayer,
and acts of charity, which being good works
ought to be practised, and that it was con-
trary to reason to dispense with them; that
it did not appear by the scripture that God
required from sinners satisfactions, properly

* Luther, in his apology against Henry of Brunf-
wick, says: *Idem ad episcopum Brandeburgensem or-
dinarium scripsi, qui mihi valde favebat. Hic respon-
dit me potestatem ecclesiæ impugnare, magnasque mihi
molestias concitaturum esse; sibi satius videri ut qui-
escerem. Cogitabunt ut arbitror uterque (episcopus
Brandeburgensis et archiepiscopus Moguntinus) pon-
tificis potentiam mihi homini misero et mendico gra-
vissimam fore.*

so called; that, in truth, he chastised the faithful with various sufferings; but, besides that this was to amend, and not to punish them, it is he alone who has power either to alleviate or terminate chastisements allotted by himself; that supposing the reality of satisfactions, it was worthy of christians to forbear using indulgences, because those satisfactions were salutary punishments; that indulgences were introduced only for indolent christians; and that if it were not permitted to dissuade men from them, it is still less allowable to exhort people to receive and to purchase them; that indulgences were founded on the idea that as penance could not be finished during life, it was necessary either to complete it in purgatory, or to obtain a dispensation from the pope; but that this foundation was not solid, because if the question be of divine punishments, God, who freely pardons sins, requires from sinners only their conversion; and if it be of canonical penalties, the church could not command any thing that was impossible: that, in fine, it was neither certain nor decided that indulgences delivered souls from purgatory; that it could not be proved, and that, for his part, he did not believe it; whence it followed

F

that

An. 1517. that the surest way was to pray for the comfort of souls, and to do good works. There are many other reflexions very beautiful and very solid in this little sermon, and in that which follows it on repentance.

Luther did not attack indulgences through jealousy or interest.

The historians of the Roman church have endeavoured to persuade the world that Luther had secret and interested motives for opposing indulgences. Even if that were true, his cause would not suffer by it; that cause is good or bad, independently of the motives which led to action; whether his conduct proceeded from a spirit of vanity or pique, it is always Jesus Christ that is announced; and if a wicked, mercenary priest could make the body of Jesus Christ, a wicked priest could correct abuses; but at a period when those abuses were so heinous and so scandalous, there is no need to impute other motives to him than the abuses themselves.

With regard, however, to the love of acquiring honour by a new doctrine, Luther has since declared, that the reputation which his first theses procured him gave him uneasiness, because he had not sufficiently made up his mind upon the subject of indulgences, and did not at that time know whether he

he could support the tenets he had advanced *. An. 1517,

With respect to pique, it is pretended that the Augustins conceived a jealousy against the Dominicans because the management of the indulgences was committed to them; but it is a conjecture which was first advanced by Francis Paolo, and of which no trace is to be found in the ancient records of that time; so that even cardinal Bellarmin did not venture to take advantage of it. Maimbourg himself † has done no more than insinuate it, and he attributes it to Staupitz, and not to Luther. “Whether that vicar,” says he, “was chagrined because the Dominicans had
“been preferred to the monks of his order,
“who had formerly held in Saxony the same
“employment which he thought was now
“bestowed on others to their injury; or
“whether he was really affected by the
“glaring improprieties which were com-
“mitted in the dispersion of these indul-

* Itaque pro egregio doctore laudabar, qui unus tandem rem aggressus essem; sed mihi ista fama nec placebat, cum dubius hærerem quid essent indulgentiæ, et negotium supra vires meas metuerem. Apology against Henry of Brunswick.

† Maimbourg, b. 1. p. 23.

An. 1517. “gences.” This historian, completely prejudiced as he is, inclines to believe that the irregularities of the collectors were the cause of Luther’s preaching; and, certainly, he never appeared to act upon interested motives. He was not, moreover, a man disposed to become the instrument of the avarice and resentment of his order. It is, besides, false that the Augustins possessed the office of preaching indulgences in Saxony. The Dominicans had exercised that employment there since the year 1507; and Tetzels in two days had raised two thousand florins from the inhabitants of Fridburg, without the Augustins having manifested any desire for them, or having pretended that this booty belonged of right to their order.

Maimbourg, after the passage above quoted, relates that Staupitz, resolving to oppose the Dominicans with all his force, was desirous of making use of that person, who, of all the other monks, and even of all the doctors, was then most in vogue, and possessed of the greatest reputation in the university of Wittenberg, that is to say, the celebrated Martin Luther.

There is no occasion to controvert this story. On the contrary, if it were true, its tendency

tendency would be to justify Luther, since he An. 1517.
 could only have acted by the order and
 under the authority of his superior. But
 after all it is false that Luther was the instru-
 ment of the vicar-general. John Staupitz,
 who was charged with this business, was a
 man of merit, venerable on account of his
 learning, his sweetness of manners, his pro-
 bity, and the esteem which the elector had
 for him. He was by no means ignorant of
 the abuses that prevailed in his times; but it
 may be confidently asserted that there is no
 proof that he was the first who conceived the
 idea of opposing them. The private letters
 that Luther and he wrote to each other are
 still extant, in which nothing is to be met
 with that favours this notion. The former
 took always the whole matter on himself, al-
 though it would have been his interest to have
 brought his superior forward in it, if he had
 acted only in obedience to his orders. More
 than twenty years after these disputes, he pro-
 tested that the excesses committed by the
 collectors were the sole causes that urged
 him to oppose indulgences; whence it
 follows, that it cannot be supposed without
 rashness, that he acted by the suggestions of
 his superior.

An. 1517.

Effect of
Luther's dis-
putations.

The theses of Luther spread themselves with an extreme rapidity through all Germany*. The people began to open their eyes, and to despise indulgences which were of no use to them. The dislike against the collectors became almost universal; and Tetzel having come to Fridburg a little time after, not only collected scarcely any thing there, but was very near being killed by the men employed in working the mines. Every body was struck with admiration on seeing a single monk endued with sufficient zeal and courage to oppose the extortions of the pope and his ministers †, while so many bishops and powerful ecclesiasticks observed a profound silence, and left their churches a prey to avarice and imposture. But Tetzel, proud of the pope's protection and of his office of inquisitor, had no sooner seen the theses of Luther than he condemned

* Ita editæ fuerunt propositiones meæ contra Tetzelium, et intra dies quindecim totam fere Germanicam pervaserunt. Omnes enim querebantur de indulgentiis, et de articulis imprimis Tetzelii. Luther's Apol. against Henry of Brunswick.

† Tacebant episcopi et doctores metu Dominicorum, hæreticæ pravitatis inquisitorum, qui igne grassabantur, et Tetzelius pastores aliquot, qui aliquid mussitauerunt, acriter reprehenderat. Ibid.

them

them to the flames, as replete with heresies and blasphemies; caused them to be publicly burnt, and endeavoured to refute them in two disputations* which he took care to have printed. The first contained a hundred and six propositions upon indulgences; and the second a hundred and fifty upon the authority of the pope. There is nothing in the first that deserves to be noticed, two things only excepted. One is, that ingenious mode of reasoning which the collectors made use of to discredit charity towards the poor, and to raise the merit of indulgences, by arguing that spiritual alms, that is to say, those whose object it is to procure comforts to the soul by the purchase of pardons, are more excellent than corporeal alms, or the succours which are given to the indigent; and that of those more meritorious alms, such as are given for a person's own benefit, exceed, in point of propriety, those which are given for the benefit of others. The second is

* Tetzel was not the author of these disputations. A certain man named Conrad Vimpina, who taught scholastic theology at Franckfort on the Oder, was the person. Hottinger, vol. vi. p. 191, says, that the disputations of Tetzel were supported at Franckfort in the presence of three hundred monks. This is not probable.

An. 1517. the audacity with which they presumed to publish and transmit to all future ages this horrible blasphemy, that although a person had actually violated the chastity of the holy Virgin, the collectors had the power of absolving the offender, whether with respect to guilt or punishment. On reading accounts of such infamous transactions, every one must be astonished that even the most zealous catholics did not feel some esteem for Luther, for having laboured to purge the earth of these detestable ministers of avarice and impiety.

The second disputation was a mere collection of the excesses of the canonists under the authority of the pope. A power is therein attributed to him which can neither be limited nor increased, an immediate jurisdiction over all christians, an absolute authority over the councils, and over the universal church; a power incommunicable to any other, to determine what are matters of faith; all the decrees of the pope, and all the opinions of the doctors who are approved by the see of Rome, are placed in the rank of catholic truths. It is there pretended, that all the bishops together have not the power to grant a single indulgence; that this is a privilege peculiar to the pope as the husband of the universal

universal church ; that it is not only an error, An. 1517.
 but a blasphemy, to say that St. Peter had more
 power in the distribution of indulgences than
 Leo the tenth. Tetzel concluded with this
 warning—that whoever dared to write either
 against the indulgences, or the power the
 pope had of distributing them, or to favour
 the writings of those who had so done, or to
 publish them abroad, or, finally, to speak
 with contempt of the pardons granted by the
 pope, might expect eternal damnation *, and
 in this life the most rigorous punishments :
 “ for,” added he, “ every beast that shall
 “ touch the holy mountain shall be stoned.”
 These propositions having been carried to
 Wittenberg, the students burned them pub-
 lickly, to avenge the affront given to those of
 Luther : but he himself always protested that
 he had taken no part in that outrage ; and he
 was too sincere to deny it, if he had so † done.

It

* Timeant sibi ne præfatas propositiones, et per has
 atque alias damnationis periculo, gravique temporali
 confusione se exponant. Bestia enim, quæ montem
 tetigeret, lapidabitur. Tetz. Disput. 2 Propos.

† Miror quod credere potuisti me fuisse auctorem
 concremationis propositionum Tetzelianarum. Adeo
 mihi, omnem sensum periisse credis, ut tam insignem
 injuriam, ego religiosus et theologus in loco non meo,
 homini

An. 1517.
 Frederick
 elector of
 Saxony takes
 no part in
 these dis-
 putes.

It was then that those people who pique themselves on penetrating into the secrets of princes, circulated the report that Luther was supported by the elector of Saxony, who encouraged him in secret to carry on this dispute on account of the hatred he bore to the archbishop of Magdeburg. Luther had early information of this, and consulted Spalatin whether it might not be proper to acquaint the elector with it *, because he was unwilling to be the cause of unjust suspicions being entertained against the conduct of that prince, and thereby to cause division between the electors. Although this letter, then written in confidence, clearly evinces the falsity of the conjecture, the same has nevertheless been renewed since by certain people, who, not being able to oppose the reformation itself, have endeavoured to render its motives suspected.

Varillas †, who handles nothing without homini tanti officii irrogarem? Luther addresses this to Iodocus who had been his master. Luther's Epist. b. 1. ep. 39.

* Ego mei causa principem in suspicionem venire ægerrimè omnino fero, et inter tantos principes dissidii originem esse, valde horreo et timeo. Luther's Epist. b. 1. ep. 39.

† History of Heresy, vol. i. b. 3.

altering

altering and corrupting it, reports this conjecture, and, at the same time, relates, “ that
 “ there was a great jealousy between the
 “ houses of Saxony and Brandenburg, and
 “ that it manifested itself upon the smallest
 “ occasions; that the elector Frederick was
 “ ill made in his person, of an ungrace-
 “ ful and disproportioned shape, but the
 “ most crafty prince in the whole north, and
 “ the most attached to interested pursuits;
 “ that since he had taken possession of the
 “ electorate, not being able to make himself
 “ master of the archbishoprick of Magde-
 “ burg, and the six suffragan bishops, he had
 “ formed the design of bringing, at least, so
 “ rich a benefice into his house; that the city
 “ of Magdeburg was the greatest and most
 “ opulent of all Germany, and that it alone
 “ was worth more than all the rest of the
 “ electorate; that Frederick, not being able
 “ to compass his design through the oppo-
 “ sition of the house of Austria on one side,
 “ and that of the court of Rome on the
 “ other, (the legate of which represented to
 “ the chapter that it was dangerous that the
 “ princes of sovereign houses should possess
 “ great benefices in the circles of the empire
 “ where their eldest sons have their principal
 “ establishment,)

An. 1517. “establishment,) was so much the more
 “offended at having lost his aim, as the
 “election had fallen upon Albert of Bran-
 “denburg, the man in the world for whom
 “he entertained the greatest dislike.” Such
 are the circumstances and reflections with
 which Varillas accompanies the supposition
 of which mention has been made.

It is to be wished for the honour of those
 who discover to us these mysteries of poli-
 ticks, that they had taken the trouble to
 point out the sources whence they drew
 them, either to give authority to their history,
 which is not a work of imagination, or to
 justify themselves from the falsehoods and
 errors which are therein discovered. For, in
 short, all is illusion in that recital, and con-
 tradicted by incontestible accounts of the age
 in which the affair took place, and by certain
 and authenticated facts.

Frederick was a prince extremely hand-
 some, of a proper size, graceful, and entirely
 made for the exercises suitable to his birth.
 According to all appearance, Varillas has
 confounded him with John Frederick his ne-
 phew, son of his brother, who had the fault
 of having too large a belly. As to the qua-
 lities of the mind, the elector had the re-
 putation

putation of being one of the most wise and prudent princes of his age ; but he was never accused of an artificial and interested policy. With respect to putting himself in possession of Magdeburg and the suffragan bishopricks, we defy his enemies to prove that this prince ever entertained such a design ; and it is even the highest injustice to suspect him of it ; him who had the generosity to refuse the empire which was offered to his virtue alone, and which would have supplied him with the means of gratifying his ambition, supposing he had entertained it. It is, besides, a piece of folly to place in the north an elector of Saxony, whose rich and fertile states are in the most beautiful and southern countries of the empire. But this historian studies, even in the smallest things, to lower the persons whom he is pleased to calumniate.

His ignorance in speaking of Frederick equals his malice. He asserts that the city of Magdeburg alone was worth more than all the electorate of Saxony, although very extensive and very fertile. Magdeburg is of a middling extent, and besides that it was formerly more rich and more powerful than at present, it has never equalled many imperial cities, as may be seen by the state of the contributions.

An. 1517. tributions. It has still the same extent it then had, as appears by its ancient ramparts, and has never made a part of the electorate of Saxony. Otho I. founded the archbishoprick out of his own patrimony in 940. It is possessed at present by the royal house of Prussia, and has the title of a duchy ; and it may here be remarked, that the late king, Frederick-William, built there a fine citadel, in an island which the Elbe forms near the city, and that he fortified the city itself. The ancient fortifications are preserved, and have been surrounded with bastions and ravelins as outworks. In general it may be confidently asserted that no proof can be found, either in the archives of Saxony or in the best historians, that the elector of Saxony intrigued for the archbishoprick of Magdeburg ; and the report is equally void of probability, since at the time of the vacancy, there was no prince of the house of Saxony who was qualified to make pretensions to it. The archbishop Ernest died in 1513 : John, brother of Frederick, had then but one son, who was presumptive heir to the electorate, Frederick being unmarried. George and Henry, his cousins-german, were both married. Henry had no children ;

children; George had two: the eldest was entitled to succeed his father, and in consequence thereof was not destined for the church; the younger, who was but nine years of age, was weak in understanding; it is therefore impossible that Frederick entertained the design of introducing the archbishoprick of Magdeburg into his house: but it is extremely proper to remark, that had he actually procured the archbishoprick to his own family, he would not thereby have acquired the city of Magdeburg, which, enjoying the privileges of an imperial city, was independent of its archbishops.

The account of the negotiations, which Varillas adds, is not only fabulous, but completely ridiculous. He pretends that the chapter of Magdeburg excluded a prince of the house of Saxony, under pretence that it was dangerous that the princes of sovereign houses should possess great benefices in the circles, where their eldest sons had their principal establishment; and that, at the same time, this chapter chose for their archbishop Albert of Brandenburg, who was already elector of Mentz, and brother of a powerful elector, whose states were as near to Magdeburg as those of Saxony. As to the opposition of

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An. 1517. the house of Austria, and the remonstrances of the legate, they are overthrown by an undoubted fact, namely, that the death of the archbishop Ernest was unknown, until after his successor had been declared. The canons kept his decease very secret: for as it was known that Ernest was sick, they placed his dead body at the windows of the palace in the posture of a living man, and deceived the people by this artifice. In fine, we have no reason to believe that Frederick entertained any ill will against Albert at the time of his election. In the interregnum which followed the death of Maximilian, these two princes came to Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt, to allay the troubles which had arisen in the empire; and it was at the return from this interview that Luther heard Frederick say, "that if that young archbishop lived "he would accomplish great matters*." It is true that the elector lost afterwards the esteem he had conceived for Albert, and that he declared he had never been more deceived than in the judgment which he had

* Luther affirms that at the return from that conference, he heard those words from the mouth of the elector at Lockau. Apology against Henry of Brunswick, apud Seck. p. 27.

formed

formed of him *. This prelate, besides, was An. 1517.
 master of such profound dissimulation, that, as
 Luther relates, when he had the honour of
 speaking to him, he replied with so much
 sweetness, that he looked on him as an angel
 of heaven †, although he was convinced that
 he was one of his greatest enemies.

When Luther had seen the disputations of
 Tetzels he despised them, and would not give
 himself the trouble of refuting them. He
 only published new theses, in which, without
 speaking of indulgences, he destroyed the
 foundations of them, by attacking the power
 of free-will, the merit of works, and the au-
 thority of the school-divines. He therein
 maintained that no one could love God unless
 by virtue of a preventing grace; that the
 infallible and only disposition to grace is the
 election and eternal predestination of God;
 that on the part of man nothing exists before
 grace but disinclination, and even rebellion;
 that without grace there is no virtue, and
 that with it there is still imperfection; that

Disputa-
tions of Lu-
ther against
free-will,
school-divi-
nity, and
the philoso-
phy of Aris-
totle.

* Nunquam se tota vita de aliquo turpius deceptum
 fuisse quam ab Alberto. Ibid.

† Nunquam ipsi ab electoribus Saxonis tam be-
 nigne reponsum fuisse, ut ab Alberto; ita ut pro angelo
 eum habuisset. Ibid.

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the

An. 1517. the habit of righteousness is acquired only by good works, because it is necessary to have righteousness already in the heart, in order to do works really good. In these theses there were other propositions against scholastic theology, and the philosophy of Aristotle.

This was the whole of what passed in 1517.

An. 1518.
New theses
upon the
same sub-
jects, sup-
ported at
Heidelberg.

The following year furnished Luther with an opportunity of proposing the same subjects in a more celebrated assembly than the audience of Wittenberg. The chapter of the Augustins was held at Heidelberg in the month of April 1518. Luther chose to go thither on foot. Frederick gave him recommendations to the elector palatine, and to Wolfgang, his brother, who was the disciple of Œcolampadius. While the Augustins were engaged upon their own concerns, Luther composed theses divided into forty propositions, twenty-eight on theology, and twelve on philosophy*. To render them
more

* These theses were supported publicly on the 26th of April 1518, in the monastery of the Augustins, which has been since called *the college of wisdom*. Whatever is further said here concerning this disputation,

more susceptible of disputation, he had given An. 1518. them a paradoxical turn. They ran, like those of which mention has just been made, upon the state of free-will since the fall, upon faith, upon good works, upon justification by faith without the merit of good works. Luther maintained these theses in a very brilliant assembly. The court of the elector palatine was held there; every thing was conducted with much order and gravity; except only that that young professor, attacking with much warmth one of Luther's paradoxes, occasioned a general laugh, by exclaiming, "if the country peasants heard what we are saying, they would stone us." Cardinal Pallavicini has made an ill use of this circumstance, or was himself grossly deceived, when he said, that the theses of Luther appeared very ridiculous, and that his paradoxes were

tion, is taken from a manuscript history of the reformation of the churches of the Palatinate, by Henry Alting, professor at Groningen. Mr. de Seckendorf relates, that his brother, being a counsellor of the elector palatine, had procured that history to be copied, which he said was very well written. Seck. p. 49. This disputation was held in the convent of the Augustins, and not in the auditory of the academy. "Quod professores theologiæ non satis probarent disputationem," says Alting.

An. 1518. treated with the utmost contempt. It was the intemperance of the young doctor, not the tenets of Luther, which created a laugh in the assembly. His doctrine was so conformable to that of Augustin, and propounded in so ingenious a manner, that it is altogether unlikely it should have been turned into ridicule; and, moreover, it insinuated itself so well into the mind, that after having been inculcated in private, it was soon after publicly taught in the academy of Heidelberg. In order, however, to explain and support his paradoxes, he published at the same time a piece entitled, *Proofs of the propositions supported at Heidelberg*.

Succes of
this disputa-
tion.

What has been just said of the success of this disputation is confirmed by testimonies of that time. Martin Bucer, who was then almoner to the elector palatine*, wrote to Beatus Rhenanus, his countryman, that Luther had much of the sentiments of Erasmus, but that he propounded them more openly than the latter; that he had procured admiration by his lively answers, short and precise, in

* Alting avers that he had the original of this letter; and we may believe the testimony of Bucer concerning it, at a time when there was assuredly no idea entertained of separation from the church of Rome.

which

which was recognized the acuteness of St. An. 1518. Paul, and not that of Scotus. But the principal advantage which he derived from that journey, was the esteem of a bishop, who possessed a high reputation for wisdom and piety, and whose testimony contributed much to acquire him the protection of his master *. This was Laurence de Bibra, bishop of Wurtzburg, of one of the most illustrious houses of Franconia, a prelate who was acquainted with a part of the evils of the church, who had a high contempt for indulgences and jubilees †, and who would not allow them to be preached up in his diocese, unless when he could not prevent it. So great an opinion was entertained of his virtue, that in one and the same year, the emperor and two electors ‡ had honoured him with the title of their counsellor. He was afterwards raised to the bishoprick of Wurtzburg, and died in the month of February 1519, without having had the satisfaction to see the

* This is taken from the manuscript life of Frederick, written by Spalatinus.

† These were plenary indulgences granted by the pope.

‡ The emperor Maximilian, the elector of Cologne, and the elector Palatine.

G 3 reformation,

An. 1518. reformation, to which he would, doubtless, have contributed. But before he died he rendered an important service to the cause, by writing to Frederick *, “ conjuring him not “ to suffer Luther, a man of worth and probity, to go out of his states, because that “ would be doing a great injury to it.” The elector did not forget this request. He himself gave it in charge to Spalatinus; and a few days before his death, he reminded him of it by one of his gentlemen.

George Spalatinus.

His original character and employment.

The part taken in the Reformation by George Spalatinus is too great to permit further delay in making him known in this history. He was born at Spalt †, a little village of Franconia, in the diocese of Aischted, on which account he took the name of Spalatinus. After having studied philosophy at Wittenberg, and law at Erfert, he was ordained priest at the age of twenty-five years; and was presented to the living of Hohenkirchen, a village situated on the borders of

* This bishop wrote with his own hand to the elector: *Ne permittas quæso, ut pius vir, Doct. Martinus Lutherus, abeat ex ditione tua, fieret enim id cum ejus injuria.* This is what the German words signify.

† In 1482.

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the forest of Thuringia, and near to the celebrated monastery of the Vale of St. George *. He was made preceptor to the probationers in this monastery. Being afterwards called to more honourable employments, the instruction of John Frederick †, nephew of the elector, was committed to him; and two years after, that of Otho and Ernest, dukes of Lunenburg, who were studying at Wittenberg. From this place the elector brought him to court, to officiate as his almoner and private secretary. Spalatinus, by his wisdom and prudence, merited all the confidence of his master, who employed him at many diets ‡, made him canon of Altenburg, and left him a pension of one hundred and sixty florins of gold ||. The succeeding electors, John, and John Frederick, employed him in like manner in various § negotiations;

An. 1518.

* In German, *Georgen Thal*.

† In 1509.

‡ At the diets of Augsbourg in 1518; of Francfort, where Charles was elected, in 1519; of Aix and of Cologne in 1520; and of Worms in 1521.

|| John Frederick redeemed that pension by a sum of 1600 florins of gold.

§ At the diets of Spire in 1526, of Augsbourg in 1530, of Cologne in 1532, &c.

An. 1518.

and particularly the last mentioned prince made use of him with advantage, in those of the League of Smalkald. At the time when the reformation was established, he was pastor of the church of Altenburg, and superintendent of the churches in that duchy. He died at his church *, at the age of sixty-three years, after having adorned the electoral library with a great number of greek and hebrew books, which he had bought at Venice by order of the elector, and after having composed many works himself, the greater part of which have not been printed †. It has been thought necessary to give, in this place, an abridgment of the life of that excellent man, who was of the greatest service to the progress of the reformation. Varillas has spoken of him in his history with his usual affectation and ignorance. He makes mention of the letters which Leo X. wrote to Phef-

* On the 26th of January 1545: and his tomb is still to be seen at Altenburg in the church of St. Bartholomew, over against the altar.

† There have been printed only a translation of a book by Erasmus, touching the instruction of a christian prince, a tract respecting Arminius Cheruscus, and a chronicle of the origin of the electoral house of Saxony, in opposition to a defamatory publication by Henry of Brunswick.

finger

finger and Spalatinus in 1519, and says on An. 1518.
 that occasion*, “ that they were both coun-
 “ fellows of the elector ; that they were poor ;
 “ that they had many children ; and that the
 “ means of providing for these by pro-
 “ curing them benefices, was not to commit
 “ themselves with the see of Rome.” Such
 is the foundation on which this historian
 builds his political speculations. Meantime
 it is certain that Spalatinus had the title of
 secretary only, and that the pope gave him
 no more than that title in his letter of 1st
 January 1519†. It is, moreover, certain that
 Spalatinus was a priest, lived in celibacy,
 which no ecclesiastick had yet renounced,
 and did not marry until the year 1525. It
 is thus that the political romances of Varillas

* History of Heresy, b. iii. p. 254.

† There are two letters extant addressed to Spalatinus; one from Leo X. of 1st January 1519, and the other from Julius de Medicis, who was afterwards Clement VII. of 7th January of the same year. He is styled, both in one and the other, Secretary to the Elector of Saxony. Likewise, among the letters of Erasmus three are found written to Spalatinus, l. 5. ep. 35. l. 9. ep. 20. l. 13. ep. 40. In the first of these, Erasmus says many handsome things to him upon occasion of a gold medal which Spalatinus had sent him on the part of the elector.

An. 1518. are constantly annihilated by certain and incontestible facts.

Luther acquires information by degrees.

Luther having thrown off the yoke of authority and of the schoolmen, acquired every day new lights; and when the decisions of the Roman church, which he still respected, did not prevent him, he allowed himself the liberty of judging of the opinions of the doctors, and of proposing his own, with the precaution, however, of advancing nothing in the tone of a master who decides, but of a man who doubts, who is willing to be instructed, who seeks for information. He continued this kind of language, until having acquired a knowledge of the weakness of the schoolmen, and the abuse of the pope's authority, he thought it unnecessary to lay down as a principle any thing beyond the holy scriptures. He then began to reject every thing that was not founded on those sacred books; and as it was not by a sudden inspiration that he was enlightened*, but by a progress of infor-

* "Optime lector, memento me unum fuisse ex illis, qui, ut Augustinus de se scribit, scribendo et docendo profecerint, non de illis qui de nihilo repente fiunt summi." These are the words of Luther in the preface to his works, written a little time before his decease.

mation

mation which kept pace with his labours, we must not be astonished if it was only by degrees that he pierced the cloud of errors which covered the church; if he perceived at first but few truths, and if at the beginning he discerned them only in a confused and doubtful manner. An. 1512.

The first who undertook to defend Tetzel against Luther were Sylvester de Prierias, master of the sacred palace *, and John de Eck, or Eckius, professor of theology at Ingolstadt. This latter was also canon of Aischedt; and it was by order of his bishop that he made critical remarks on the theses of Luther †, in which appeared much malignity. He accused him, above all, of being infected with the poison of Bohemia, an accusation the most odious which could at that time be brought against any person. Luther had so much the greater reason to complain, as Eckius had professed himself to

Prierias and
Eckius
write a-
gainst him.

* Le "*maitre du sacré Palais*," is a great officer who lives in the Vatican, and is entrusted with the revision of all books which are printed at Rome. Moreri. M.

† The remarks of Eckius are entitled, *Obelisks*, that is to say, sharp points. It was on this account that Luther entitled his answer, *Asterisks*, or little stars. Each of the terms is taken from the marks which are made in a book when any thing is particularly noted.

be

An. 1518. be one of his friends *, and Eckius could only offer in his excuse that he had made his observations in haste, and without books : reasons which might very well procure forgiveness of his inaccuracy, but not of his malice. The reply of Luther was animated and forcible. He did not spare in it that bitter and pungent salt †, which is found in such abundance in his works. He supported his propositions, and defended himself against the charge of heresy. He testified but little esteem and deference for the schoolmen, but preserved respect for the authority of the pope, charging the abuse of indulgences upon the flatterers of the court of Rome.

As to Sylvester Prierias, he wrote a book against Luther in the form of a dialogue. The epistle dedicatory to Leo X. favours entirely of the ridiculous swaggerer. He re-

* In his letter to Vincencius Linceius, prior of the Augustines of Neuremberg, to whom he addressed his answer.

† The letter from Eckius to Carlostadius, of 8th May 1518, has been printed. See Seck. page 30. Maimbourg says that Luther, *contrary to his natural disposition*, replied to Eckius and Prierias *in a manner peaceable enough*. This is a proof that Maimbourg had not read his answers. B. i. p. 29.

presents

presents himself in the field of battle, “as a An. 1518. champion who did not fear the devil himself, and who desired only to enter the lists with Luther, to prove whether he had a nose of iron, and a head of brass.” With regard to the book itself, all that can be said of it is, that, if its author expresses contempt for Luther, he renders himself extremely contemptible by his manner of reasoning. He proves the authority of the pope by the decrees of the popes themselves, and of the Roman church, the infallibility of which he defends in point of fact and right, both as to decision and practice, accusing every one of heresy who dared to deny that doctrine.

Luther replied, and began to lay down those two principles, which were, in the sequel, the foundation of the whole reformation. Luther begins to lay the foundation of the reformation. First, “That it is necessary to prove “all things, and to hold fast that which is “good.” 1 Theff. v. 21. Gal. i. 8, 9. Secondly, “That there is no infallible authority on earth, but that of the holy scriptures.” This latter rested upon that passage of St. Augustin *: “I have learned “not

* Ego solis iis libris, qui canonici appellantur hunc honorem ferre didici, ut nullum horum scriptorum errasse

An. 1512. "not to confer the honour of infallibility
"but upon the canonical writers only."

Luther afterwards attacked the infallibility of the pope, the power which he arrogates to himself over the temporal concerns of princes, scholastic theology, the merit of works, and even the infallibility of councils; an opinion more respected than that of the infallibility of the pope. He maintained that the power of the universal church was not concentrated in the pope, as Prierias had presumed to say; and that this power could, at the most, be found only in the œcumenical councils; that if it were necessary to impute to the whole church the actions of the pope, very horrid outrages would be attributed to it; on which head he cursorily alleged the pride and tyranny of Boniface VIII. and the bloody wars of Julius II. He added, that there is no maxim more false nor more pernicious to the commonweal, than that of investing popes with sovereign authority, political as well as ecclesiastical, because it is to give them a right to possess themselves of general dominion, without being liable to the charge

errasse firmissimè credam, cæteros autem quanta libet doctrina sanctitateque polleant, non ideo verum esse credo, quod illi sic senserint. Aug. Ep. ad Hieron.

of usurpation. And as Prierias had up- An. 1518.
braided Luther, that he would not have made
so much noise on the subject of indulgences,
if he had had a good bishoprick, or a church
in which they were preached up; he re-
plied, that if he had aspired to the epif-
copal dignity, he would have taken other
means to obtain it; that these means were
not unknown to any person; and that even
the streets of Rome resounded with the in-
famous transactions of the court*, and the
shameful methods of acquiring the best be-
nefices.

These small works were followed by another
which contained the explanation and defence
of his theses, in a full and ample manner. Explanation
and defence
of the theses
of Luther
against in-
dulgences.
He had had it ready since the year 1517;
but whether he hoped that silence would be
imposed on the collectors, or whether his
superiors had prevented him from publish-
ing it†, his book did not appear until the
month of April 1518. There is also a pro-
bability that the pope's citation, which was
signified to him at that time, obliged him to

* Luther alludes to certain songs which had been
popular at Rome previous to the election of Leo X.

† This book is entitled, *Resolutiones disputationum
de indulgentiarum virtute, ad Leonem X. Pontificem.*

bring

AN. 1518. bring forward this species of apology, and to address it to the pope himself. However that may be, it is an excellent work, wherein he supports the reputation for learning which he had already acquired. It may also be confidently affirmed that on this occasion he treated the matter of indulgences and of penitence with so much force and address united, that the attempt might pass for a master-piece, at least in those times.

Luther defined penitence to be a hatred of one's-self, which ought continually to be exercised by the mortification of the passions, which not being perfectly subdued, render penitence coeval with life itself. He maintained that this internal penitence ought to be outwardly manifested by external penitence, which is its necessary and inseparable fruit, and which consists in fasting, in prayer, and in alms. Under fasting, he comprehends every kind of mortification; under prayer, all the duties of piety; under alms, all the duties of charity towards one's neighbour. From this idea of penitence a judgment may be drawn, whether libertinism were the foundation of the reformation, and the cause of its progress.

He

He next passes to indulgences, which are only an abatement of penance *; and after having remarked that it cannot possibly be of that kind which he has been just describing, because God himself dispenses with it from no one, and because it is of divine right, he defends the fifth proposition, in which he had laid down that the pope could only remit canonical punishments. It is this which composes the principal part of his treatise: all the rest comes only occasionally. It must be observed, that at this time he was still persuaded of the authority of the pope, and he was desirous that it should be respected and obeyed. With regard to purgatory, he was so far from denying it, that he handled the Bohemians, under the name of Picards, very roughly, because they did not believe it; and reasoning always according to the principles of Rome, he accused them “of preferring an opinion of fifty years standing to the ancient faith of the church.” But he soon recovered from his prejudices, became better acquainted with the history and chronology of doctrines, and rendered

* The French word *penitence*, used in the original, signifying either *penance*, *penitence*, or *repentance*, the translator has endeavoured to render it, as often as it occurs, by the term best suited, in his judgment, to the meaning of the author.

Ann. 1513. more justice to the Bohemians. A much longer extract from this book may be found in the *Remarks* *. It will be sufficient here to say that in it are to be seen very free censures of abuses which were unquestionable; modest and doubtful censures of those which appeared as yet uncertain; zeal for the truth, courage to defend it, a great dislike to every relaxation of discipline and manners, and an understanding which extricates itself by degrees from the darkness of the age, and which divests itself of the prejudices it has adopted. It is true that there are in the same work some materials a little unpolished, and some which are not well selected. But, with more time and information, Luther, or rather those who shall come after him, will polish the one and reject the other, and give to his system more order and greater neatness. He dedicated his book to Leo X. persuaded as he was that this pope was possessed of virtue, and was able to do him justice. The dedication contained a defence of his conduct, complaints against that of his enemies, and a submission, than which nothing could be

* The translator presumes these *Remarks* are those alluded to by the Berlin editors, and by them intended for future publication. See advertisement from the editors. It does not appear whether the above intention has been carried into effect.

more respectful. He there strongly repre- An. 1513.
sents the avarice and impiety of the collec-
tors, proved by their writings; the scandal
which they had given to all people; the dis-
grace which their conduct reflected upon the
holy see; and finally, the liberty he had taken
to bring into question the tenets of these per-
sons: and although he had not exceeded the
privilege of a professor of theology, he con-
cluded with these words*: “ I submit to
“ your judgment both my person and my
“ works; you have the power to take away
“ my life, or to give it me; to summon and
“ re-summon me; to approve me, or to
“ condemn me, as it shall please you. Al-
“ though you pronounce, I shall receive your
“ sentence as that of Jesus Christ who pre-
“ sides in your person, and who speaks by
“ your mouth. If I have deserved death I
“ am ready to suffer it. The earth is the
“ Lord’s, and all that therein is.”

It must be confessed that Luther’s sub- The sub-
missions
made by
Luther are
sincere.
missions are conceived in rather extravagant
terms; but this is not the thing with which

* Prostratum me pedibus tuis beatissime pater, offero,
cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide,
voca et revoca, approba et reproba, ut placuerit. Vo-
cem tuam, vocem Christi in te præsentis et loquentis
agnoscam: si mortem merui, mortem non recusabo.
Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus.

An. 1518. he is reproached. It has been said that they were not sincere. Yet as he has accompanied them with the most solemn protestations, which he has many times since repeated; and as he has declared, at times when he had no occasion to dissemble*, that he was thoroughly convinced the Roman church was the true church, it would be rashness and injustice to accuse him of falsehood. But, in general, submissions of this nature ought not to be taken too literally. The high elevation on which the pope stood, and the opinion which was entertained of his authority, scarcely permitted Luther to express himself otherwise than he has done; and, in addition, he had reason to believe that regard would be had to the justice of his cause, and that he would not be required to violate his own conscience. The most unlimited submissions always respect the rights of God and of conscience. This was what Luther intended; and he explains it himself in his work when he is treating of the authority of the pope, as may be seen by reference to the extract contained in the Remarks †. And, if Luther

* Ego profecto majori longè cum veneratione ecclesiam pontificiam pro vera habui, quam nunc perversi illi faciunt, qui eam contra me mirè extollunt. Luther, in the preface to his Works, printed at Jena in 1545.

† See former note, page 98.

has not formally expressed this meaning in his address to the pope, it was that he might not give him occasion to suppose that he was capable of making an attempt against his authority, and to seek out beforehand pretences to render his opinions ineffectual. However this may be, it is certain that Luther had no intention at that time to throw off the yoke of Rome, and that the violence of that court and its writers carried things much further than he had foreseen. Erasmus asserts that the intemperance of the catholic writers had kindled the fire which was consuming the church*.

Luther sent his book to the bishop of Brandenburg, and to the vicar-general Staupitz. The bishop disapproved of the shameful traffick of indulgences, and thought the censures passed by Luther just; but he thought them still more dangerous; and under that idea he sent the Abbot of Lehnin to him to intreat him either to suppress his writings, or to defer the publication of them. Luther would do neither; and contented himself with writing to the bishop †, “ that he treated his subject like a divine who examines without deciding; that he sub-

He sends his book to the bishop of Brandenburg and to Staupitz, in order to have it conveyed to the pope.

* See epist. l. 19. ep. 7.

† Luther's letter is dated on Saturday (called) *Exaudi*.

An. 1518. "mitted his opinions to the judgment of
 " his superiors; and that, after all, he
 " dreaded neither the menaces of the in-
 " quisitors, nor the bulls of the pope." But
 the letter which he addressed at that time to
 Staupitz is well worthy of being * recorded.
 He writes to this superior, that he should
 always call to mind that excellent sentiment
 which he had heard him express, "*that there*
 "*is no true penitence but that which begins*
 "*with the love of God and of righteousness.*"
 That this very sentiment was the first light
 which had discovered to him that true pe-
 nitence does not consist in external and pain-
 ful works, and unprofitable atonements. And
 after having intreated him to convey his
 book to the pope, he concluded with these
 words which will be an everlasting proof of
 his great courage, and of his love for the
 truth. "I have no possessions, nor do I wish
 " for any; if I have had any reputation I am
 " losing it every day. All that remains to
 " me is a weak body, sinking under the
 " weight of perpetual inconveniences: let
 " them take it from me, either by violence
 " or by secret means; I am ready to obey
 " God. They will only, perhaps, shorten
 " my life a few moments. Jesus Christ my

* This letter is dated on Trinity Sunday.

" Saviour

“ Saviour is all-sufficient for me, and supplies An. 1518.
 “ the place of every thing; and as long as I
 “ live, I will sing hymns to his honour.”

In this letter Luther recounts to Staupitz, as he had before done to the pope and the bishop of Brandenburg, the origin of the dispute. This vicar-general was his superior; he honoured him as his father, and addressed him with confidence. There can be no doubt but that Luther told him the truth, and, consequently, that if he did oppose indulgences, it was not for the purpose of advancing the interest of his order, nor through jealousy of party, nor from resentment against the court of Rome, nor by the direction of Staupitz; but solely on account of the scandal they had universally occasioned. And assuredly, the manner in which the affair was brought forward, is so plain and unaffected, as to carry with it the stamp of sincerity.

Until this period the dispute had been only among the monks. The people and the great remained spectators without taking any part; and if Leo X. had been satisfied with imposing silence upon Luther and the Dominicans, it is probable there would never have been a reformation. It has even been reported that such was the opinion of the pope; and that some of the courtiers having appeared sur-

Reflections
upon the
origin of
the dispute.

An. 1518. prised that he had not condemned Luther, from the time Prierias shewed him the heretical propositions which his theses contained, he made answer, “ that Luther was a man
 “ of understanding and a fine genius; and
 “ that all these disputes were only jealousies
 “ among the monks *.” But the importunity of the Dominicans did not leave him long in this sort of neutrality. They exclaimed incessantly “ that if a bridle were
 “ not put on the most bold heretick that ever
 “ lived, it was all over with the holy see and
 “ the catholic religion; that not only the
 “ common people, who are always fond of
 “ novelty, lent an ear to his opinions, but
 “ that those rash wits, who pique themselves
 “ on science and the belles lettres, already
 “ applauded the growing heresy; that it was
 “ requisite he should make haste to stifle it by
 “ a prompt condemnation, and, if it were
 “ necessary, to extirpate it by fire and sword.” The famous Dominican, James † Hochstrat, was, beyond all the rest, of this opinion; and he conjured the pope to that effect, in a letter which he wrote against Luther. Prierias, on his part, never ceased to solicit the same at

* Che Fra Martino fosse un bellissimo ingegno, e che cotesse erano invidie fratesche. Seck. p. 40.

† He was of the monastery of Louvain, and Luther replied to him on the 23d of July.

Rome. The pope had the weakness to suffer himself to be overcome by the clamours of these people; and as it was incessantly insinuated to him that his authority and his interest were in danger, he summoned Luther to appear before him in sixty days. This citation was signified to him on the 7th of April *.

When Luther saw the pope's citation he clearly perceived that they wished to destroy him, and that he had only to choose between two extremes, either to retract, or to perish. He did not hesitate upon the choice; and being resolved to die rather than betray his conscience, he wrote to Spalatinus, "that he knew very well how to defend his cause; that he did not expect to escape violence; but that truth, at least, should be preserved from it †." This magnanimity of Luther is so much the more illustrious, as he did not at that time perceive any protection for himself upon earth; and far from the elector of Saxony being disposed to defend him, that prince had entertained a wish that he should

His magnanimity.
He had no known protection.

* Maimbourg dates the pope's brief on the 7th of August. He has confounded the day of its reception with the date of the brief; for it appears that Luther sent it on the 8th of August to Spalatinus, who was then at the diet of Augsbourg.

† This letter is dated the 2d of September.

~ withdraw

AN. 1518. withdraw himself from Wittenberg. Thus it appears by a letter which Staupitz wrote to him at that period. This good old man observed to him, “ that the world was violently incensed against the truth ; that the “ hatred of the Jews was evidently rekindled “ against Jesus Christ ; that he ought to prepare to carry the cross which his Saviour had “ left to his disciples ; that he had few protectors, and those extremely timid. I am of “ opinion,” added he, “ that you should quit “ Wittenberg for some time, and that you “ should come and stay with me, to the end “ that we may live and die together. Your “ prince is of the same sentiment. I need “ say no more on the subject. It is meet “ that we should not be separated, since every “ one abandons us, as Jesus Christ, whom we “ follow, was himself abandoned by all the “ world.”

Alexander VI. had not been equally rigorous in a dispute nearly similar. Innocent VIII. had granted indulgences in Saxony, and the Dominicans had opposed them both in their sermons and public disputes. The abuses were, without comparison, of less magnitude than those which Luther censured ; yet the court of Rome appointed nevertheless commissaries in Germany ;

many; and, after proceedings for four or five years, contented itself with imposing silence on the Dominicans without requiring recantation. This court would have practised the same moderation in the affair of Luther; but the violence of his adversaries would not permit it. An. 1518.

Frederick was not a little embarrassed. He wished neither to deliver up Luther, nor to embroil himself with the pope who ordered him “by virtue of the sacred obedience which he owed to the Roman church to deliver up that heretick into his hands *.” Cajetan, besides †, had express orders to send for Luther, and in case he refused to appear, to enjoin all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, the emperor alone excepted, to deliver him up, under pain of excommunication, of interdict, and of forfeiture of all estates and dignities, upon those who should afford him retreat or protection. Frederick, therefore, not to bring the pope upon himself, promised the legate to send Luther to him; but, at the same time, he took precautions, which are not

* In the brief addressed to Frederick, of the 22d of August 1518. It is among Luther's Works, vol. i. fol. 204. Witten. edit.

† In the rescript addressed to Cajetan of the same date.

thoroughly

An. 1518. thoroughly known, to prevent his being carried to Rome.

Diet of
Augsburg.

The diet was then assembled at Augsburg. Every one appeared with extraordinary magnificence*, the luxury of France having begun already to communicate itself to the Germans. The prime of the German nobility were to be there seen, so numerous and flourishing, that they seemed to promise to the German nation the empire of the world †, “provided that nation,” says an ingenuous author, “had as much understanding as strength.” The pope had his legate at the diet; the kings of France, Hungary, and Poland, their ambassadors. The design of the king of France was to counteract those of Maximilian. The king of Poland demanded succours against the invasion of the Tartars. The king of Hungary was desirous of shel-

* *Mira est vestra luxuria, a gallis sumpto exemplo, quos præter patrium morem in hoc æmulari certamus.* In Hutten’s letter to *Julius Plugh*, written from Augsburg during the diet. See Vonder Hardt. Hist. Lit. in the beginning.

† *Quod si hodie tantum cerebri esset Germanize quantum virium ausim orbi terrarum minari jugum.* Ibid. Hutten’s letter is dated 21st August 1518. He was in the suite of Albert archbishop of Mentz, whose virtues he extolled in his writings. Hutten remarks also, that, according to custom, they drank there stoutly. “*Et strenuè bibitur, nondum sanitatem accipientibus, qui rectis semper monitionibus reclamare solent.*”

tering

tering himself from the formidable power of the Turks; and the legate had several commissions, the most specious of which was that of engaging Germany in the war against the infidels. He therefore made a fine speech upon this subject, which was printed. An. 1518.

Selim * after having vanquished the Persians, and destroyed the empire of the sultans of Egypt and Syria, menaced Italy and Hungary alike. Italy, weakened by long wars, timorous and not well provided with good soldiers, was alarmed at the power of Selim,

* The emperor Selim after having poisoned his father, and made away with his brothers and their children, had commenced his conquests with Armenia, where he killed the king of the Amulites. Afterwards having turned his arms to the side of Egypt he defeated the sultan Campson, and reduced all Syria under his authority. Finally, having made himself master of Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and having caused the king Tomumbec to expire on a gibbet, he destroyed the empire of the Mamalukes. So many victories gained in the east, gave good reason to fear lest he should pass into Europe. This year, with the general consent of all the christian princes, was employed in levying troops to put themselves into a state of defence against the Turks. But the death of Selim, which happened nearly at that time, and the opinion which was entertained of Solyman his son and successor, a prince of a more mild and peaceable disposition, delivered Leo from the alarms which such great preparations for war had caused him. De Thou, l. i. p. 42. of the Basse translation.

fearing

An. 1518, fearing lest, after the example of his uncle Mahomet, he might be inclined to send an army into the kingdom of Naples. The court of France was, beyond all the rest, alarmed on this head, at least it pretended to be so. After various councils held at Rome, the pope published a truce of five years among all the christian princes*; enjoined them to observe it under pain of censures; and formed a vast project to himself of attacking the Ottomans with all the united forces of the christian nations. The emperor was to command the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles, and to march into Bosnia, to pass from thence into Thrace. The king of France, at the head of his forces, of the Italians, and of the Swiss, was to embark in Calabria, and to pass into Albania. The kings of Spain, England, and Portugal, with a naval force of two hundred vessels, were to sail to the Dardanelles, and to possess themselves of Constantinople. Finally, the pope was to follow in person with an hundred galleys. It is not easy to know whether all this was seriously proposed by persons so enlightened as those were who engaged in

* Guicciard. l. xiii. 10.

it. What is certain is, that the pope caused An. 1518.
solemn processions to be made to implore
the assistance of heaven, and that he gave
the example of penitence by going himself
bare-footed. However it might be, the
pope dispatched to the emperor *Thomas*
de Vio cardinal of St. Sixtus, commonly
known by the name of *Cajetan*; to the king
of France, *Bernard de Bibliano*, cardinal of
St. Mary in *porticu*; to the king of Spain,
Giles Antoninus *, cardinal of St. Marcellus;
and to the king of England, *Laurence Cam-*
peggio, cardinal of St. Mary beyond the
Tiber; all of them very able cardinals, and
much attached to the pope.

The design of Maximilian in the diet of
Augsburg was to secure the empire to his
house, by procuring either Charles, then be-
come king of Spain, or the archduke Fer-
dinand his brother, to be elected king of
the Romans. It is said, that Maximilian in-
clined at first for Ferdinand †, Charles being

* This is the same who is named *Ægidius Viter-*
bienfis, because he was of Viterbo, or its neighbour-
hood. He was a very eloquent man, as may be judg-
ed by the discourse which he made in the first session
of the council of the Lateran.

† Guicciard. ut sup.

• already

An. 1518. already sufficiently powerful by the possession of the kingdoms of Spain and Naples, and by the succession of the house of Burgundy. But the friends which Charles had at the emperor's court, among whom was the cardinal de Gurck *, a minister in high esteem with that prince, joining themselves with the enemies of France, and in particular with the cardinal of Sion, the most violent of any, induced the emperor to change his opinion. They represented to him that the glory of his house and that of the imperial dignity required that he should cause the empire to fall into the hands of such one of his grandchildren as was best able to support the one and the other ; that the safety of christendom depended upon an emperor who had sufficient forces to defend it ; that the greater the number of states united under one prince, the more the public tranquillity, which was always disturbed by a multitude of sovereigns, would be secured ; that Charles having already the kingdom of Naples, could easily make him-

* This appears by a letter from Charles to *Hoyer* count of Mansfield, dated from Saragossa, the 18th of January 1518, and which was communicated to M. de Seckendorf. This instruction is in cyphers, but there is placed with it an interlineary explanation. Seck. l. i. p. 42.

self master of Italy, and restore to the empire An. 1518. its extent and ancient splendour. It is pretended that Maximilian, determined by these and other reasons, began to negotiate in the empire in favour of Charles, who, on his part, sent large sums of money to * *Courtville*, his ambassador at the court of Maximilian, and who charged the count of Mansfeld to make proper use of it for the purpose of gaining suffrages. He recommended to him, in particular, to see the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the duke George, and to gain them to his interests.

The different parties which were assembled at the diet, negotiated with all the secrecy possible. Policy, in imitation of nature, endeavours as much as it can to conceal its movements and operations, and to appear tranquil when most agitated. Meanwhile the party of the emperor prevailed. His perseverance, the negotiations and the money of Charles, had disposed the greater part of the princes to consent to the election of a king of the Romans; but the elector of Saxony opposed it, because the laws of the empire did not permit that election

* Guicciardini says, two hundred thousand ducats.

AN. 1518. during the life of the emperor. He firmly resisted the intreaties of his imperial majesty, the solicitations of his own ministers*, and those of his best friends. Laurence de Bibra, bishop of Wurtzburg, of whom mention has been made, a prelate whom Frederick esteemed exceedingly, pressed him to give his voice to Charles; but he was inflexible, and justified on this occasion the eulogium which Spalatinus bestows on him†, “that
 “ he possessed a firmness and a greatness of
 “ soul, so as never to depart from a resolu-
 “ tion when he once perceived the justness
 “ of it.” Such was the opinion entertained of the elector; and he drew this proper advantage from it, that no one was offended at his refusal, which he knew besides, how to accompany with great civility, and to support by reasonable motives. Thus when the ministers of the emperor tried to profit by that occasion to embroil them together, he stopped their mouth by saying, “that he
 “ had heard the elector’s reasons, and that he

* His ministers of the diet were *Philip* count of Solms, *Frederick* count of Thonau, *Degenhard de Pfefinger* his chamberlain, and *Jerome Rodolphus* his private secretary.

† In the MSS. life of Frederick, ap. Seck.

“ was

“ was satisfied with them *.” They se- An. 1518.
 parated with mutual marks of friendship and
 confidence; and when after a secret con-
 ference Frederick took leave of Maximilian,
 the latter, much indisposed as he was, and
 unable to walk without pain, conducted him
 to the staircase. The emperor † fell ill at
 Wells in Austria, a little after the diet. Pfef-
 finger had followed him in quality of minister
 of the elector; and as he took leave of him,
 Maximilian said to him ‡, uncovering himself
 at the same time: “ You will salute, on my
 “ part, the elector of Saxony, my dear cou-
 “ sin, and you will assure him of my friendship.
 “ He has conducted himself like a good
 “ elector, and like an upright and steady man:
 “ tell him that I intreat him to come to the diet
 “ of Franckfort where I shall not fail to be.”

The pope did not wish that Charles should

* Seck. ub. sup.

† Maximilian I. died at Lintz in the month of Ja-
 nuary in 1519. Fortune favoured him, but he did not
 profit by it. He is accused of designs ill directed, of
 inconstancy and prodigality. He had otherwise ex-
 cellent qualities; he was valiant, diligent, secret, mild,
 and laborious. Guicciard. xiii. 2.

‡ Ap. Seck. ub. sup. It is in German. *Tu salueras.*
 Such must have been the custom of those times that
 the emperors spoke in that style to the counsellors of
 princes, although they were gentlemen.

An. 1518. be king of the Romans*; and there is no doubt but that the legate had orders to traverse secretly that design. But he had two other plans in his head which did not succeed, although he exhibited to the diet a spectacle sufficient to gain him the affection of a great number of princes. The pope created Albert archbishop of Mentz, a cardinal†. Hutten, who was in the suite of that prince, is of opinion that it was to recompense his virtue, and to gratify the emperor who loved him much. It is more probable that Leo was desirous of gaining to his interests two electors of the empire, Albert and his brother, and to dazzle the eyes of the bishops with the splendour of the purple, the hope of which procures so many creatures to the court of Rome in all the states of Europe. But whatever the designs of the pope may have been, the legate was ordered to carry the hat to Albert, and to put it on his head in the presence of the emperor, of the princes, and of the nobility of the empire‡. The

* This will be spoken of in the sequel, when the election of Charles V. is related.

† Hutt. ep. ad Jul. Phlugh. ub. sup.

‡ The ceremony took place on the first of August 1518.

hat

hat was adorned with pearls and jewels, and accompanied with a rich sword. It is remarked, as an extraordinary favour at that time, that the purple * cost Albert nothing. Perhaps the person who relates it was not himself well informed: but important services pay well for a dignity which the first elector of the empire honoured much in receiving.

This spectacle was fitted to prepare the emperor and the princes of the empire to concede to the legate two points which he could not obtain. The first was the tenths which the council of the Lateran had ordered under pretence of a war against the Turks, and also a capitation tax on the empire. Luther suspected it, and took the liberty of saying so. Hutten †, who was at the diet, testifies the same; and the instructions of the cardinal of St. Marcellus, at the court of Spain, would be a proof of it if there were occasion. He required that indulgences should

* Quod præter Romanum morem omnes factum putant, gratis illi (Alberto) misit galerum et purpuram. Leo X. Hutt. ibid.

† Hutt. ub. sup. ap. Seck. ub. sup. p. 42. Exigitur viritim pecunia quam in expeditionem insumere oporteat.

An. 1518. be published, and money levied there; but de Chêvres* opposed it after the example of Ximenes, who had treated it in the same way some time before†. This is what a well-known author informs us: “Leo X.” says he, “by the authority of the council of the Lateran, had imposed tenths upon all the benefices of the catholic church. The pretence which he held out was, the defence of christendom, and the war against the infidels. Ximenes opposed and prevented it, signifying to the pope, that if there were not a very pressing and reasonable cause, he would never suffer that the clergy of Spain, under his government, should become tributary.” Ximenes was then regent, and well-informed of the artifices of the court of Rome. The tenths had been levied in France‡. Laurentio de Medicis went thither to espouse a daughter of the house of Boulogne, and carried to Francis I.

* Auberi, Hist. of the Cardinals, vol. iii. p. 292. That historian cites on this occasion the words of a letter from P. Martyr: *Our good M. de Chêvres thinks that what goes into the coffers of other people is taken out of his purse.*

† Flechier, Hist. of Ximenes, p. 635.

‡ Guicciard. xiii. 11.

a brief

a brief which permitted him to make use of An. 1518. the money raised for the crusade, upon condition of replacing it when there should be occasion, and of giving out of it fifty thousand crowns to Medicis. In this manner were the spoils of the people divided. The diet granted neither tenths, nor capitation; and Spalatinus affirms that it was the elector of Saxony who baffled the design of the court of Rome.

The legate's second commission was to terminate the affair of Luther without noise, and by a recantation; in case he refused to give himself up, to demand him of the elector, in order to have him conveyed to Rome; and, if the elector refused, to excommunicate Luther and all his adherents. To execute this design prudent measures were taken with respect to the emperor, who, importuned incessantly by the legate, suffered a letter to be written to the pope in his * name, that as soon as his holiness had condemned Luther, he would take care that the sentence should be executed. Although this prince was but little informed as to the points in question, it may be safely affirmed that the

* Maximilian's letter to the pope is dated the 5th of August.

An. 1518. letter was surreptitious, and was written by some monk, a persecutor of the sciences and belles lettres, as well as of Luther, or by some person devoted to that faction; for there are proofs that it does not contain the real sentiments of Maximilian*. In it the celebrated Reuchlin and his cause are spoken of in a very injurious manner, and it is known that the emperor interested himself for him in the empire and at Rome †. “ We have “ learned,” says the emperor in a letter to Peter Galatinus, “ that you conduct the de- “ fence of our counsellor John ‡ Capnion, “ and that you intend to make it evident, in “ a book written for that purpose, that he “ has advanced nothing rash or offensive, by “ which you will afford us much satisfaction. “ The knowledge which you possess in three “ languages §, joined to great probity and

* *Tacemus Reuchlinianam infamationem.* This is what the emperor is made to say.

† This letter of the emperor's is of the 1st September 1518. It is to be found at the beginning of the work of Peter Galatinus, a monk of the order of St. Francis, *De arcanis catholicæ veritatis.*

‡ This is the same person as *Reuchlin* before mentioned, who was also called *Capnion*. See note p. 152.

§ Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

“ much

“ much religion, induces us to hope you will An. 1518.
 “ place his reputation above the reach of the
 “ cruel attacks of those who envy him.
 “ This is the reason why we exhort you to
 “ publish the sooner, out of love to us, a
 “ work which the world expects with im-
 “ patience; and, in the mean time, to con-
 “ tinue to defend the reputation of Capnion
 “ with the same zeal that you have begun.”

Galatinus's book appeared in 1518*, dedi-
 cated to the emperor. The author declares
 in the dedication that he has been encouraged
 to the undertaking by cardinal Laurentio
 Pucci, who had solicited him so much the
 more to labour at it, as the object was to
 defend the honour of Maximilian himself
 attacked in that of his counsellor Capnion.
 These declarations render what is found in
 the emperor's letter to the pope extremely
 suspicious.

Maximilian was not a Lutheran; but there
 are proofs that he had an esteem for Luther,
 and very little for his adversaries. He read
 the theses of the former during the diet, and
 found in them so much good sense and truth,

* Apud Van der Hardt. Hist. Lit. Ref. p. ii.
 p. 10.

that

An. 1513. that having asked Pfeffinger news of the monk of Wittenberg*, he added, “ that
 “ his theses were not to be despised, and that
 “ they would furnish plenty of business to the
 “ priests.” He afterwards directed this minister to tell his master, “ that he should
 “ take care of Luther; and that, perhaps,
 “ they would have need of him.” With respect to Luther’s adversaries, he did not value them much. Conrade Peutinger relates, that, during the diet, the prior of the Dominicans of Augsburg having had some difference with the legate, who was general of the order, these two were reconciled to each other upon the occasion of Luther’s business, which caused the emperor to make use of that downright expression, and which could only be the effect of great indignation, “ see how these rogues are accustomed to act; “ they wished to make me a party in their “ quarrel; if they had succeeded in their design, they would not have become the less “ friends.” Maximilian often complained of the frauds and perfidies of the priests, which he had but too well experienced. He had at first some opinion of Leo X.; but when

* Apud Seck. ub. sup.

he

he perceived his intrigues with Francis I. he could not help saying*, “If that pope had not deceived me, he would have been the only one whose integrity I could applaud.”

A prince who speaks in this manner, appears but little disposed to deliver into the hands of the pope a man whose greatest crime as yet was censuring the abuses of the court of Rome, and which he judged necessary in order to repress its designs. These facts shew that cardinal Pallavicini has no right to make a boast of the emperor’s letter to the pope, and to abuse Fra. Paolo for not having made mention of it.

Luther seeing that he was lost if he went to Rome, where his adversaries would be his judges, (for Prierias was one of them,) he besought the elector, through Spalatinus, who had followed his master to Augsberg, to request the pope to allow him judges in Germany. Meanwhile that he might have a pretence for not obeying the citation, he had it insinuated to Frederick to refuse him a passport to go out of Wittenberg. Palla-

* Hutten has related this saying of Maximilian’s at the end of the book, in which he has shewn, by a series of facts, that the pontiffs of Rome had always rebelled against the emperor. Ap. Scultet. an. 1520.

An. 1518. vicini reproaches him for his conduct, as if he had been highly criminal in resorting to pretexts to secure himself from the oppression of a court which makes use of the most unworthy methods, when it wishes to get rid of its enemies.

The elector desired that a commission should be named, but he could not obtain it; and all the fruit of his mediation reduced itself to this, that the legate, who was at the diet, should take cognisance of the affair.

Luther
obliged to
appear be-
fore the le-
gate at
Augsburg.

Luther was at first much surprised at receiving an order to repair to Augsburg, and to appear there before the legate. The elector, however, having sent him an assurance that he would not suffer him to be sent to Rome, he set out on foot, with no other security than letters of recommendation to some senators which the elector had procured him. He had printed, before his journey, a sermon touching *the abuse of excommunication*. And although that sermon was very innocent, and he had only printed it because unfaithful reports had been made of it, the pope's ministers did not fail to take offence, and to lay it to his charge as a new crime, because in that discourse he sapped the foundation of their tyranny. Luther there
taught,

taught, “ that there are two sorts of com- An. 1518.
 “ munion with the church, and with Jesus
 “ Christ; the one external, by assemblies and
 “ by the sacraments; the other internal, by
 “ the spirit and by faith; that unjust excom-
 “ munication can never deprive a believer of
 “ communion with Jesus Christ, because it
 “ cannot take away his faith, which is the
 “ bond of it; that such excommunication,
 “ supported with patience and humility, be-
 “ comes the greatest of all merits; that the
 “ defence of truth and virtue must not be
 “ abandoned through fear of excommunica-
 “ tion, because that would be to deprive
 “ one’s-self of internal communion with Jesus
 “ Christ, in order to preserve an external
 “ communion with the church; that no one
 “ is damned for dying in a state of excom-
 “ munication, if he be penitent; and that
 “ suffering until death so great a punish-
 “ ment, rather than renounce truth, is to die
 “ in a state of benediction.” In fine, he ex-
 hortated the people to endure the chastisements
 of the church, even when they are unjust,
 because, after all, it is the power of Jesus
 Christ which it exercises, although that power
 be in the hands of Herods and Pilates.

At the time Luther set out, the university He goes to
Augsburg.
 of

AN. 1518. of Wittenberg, which he had begun to render one of the most celebrated in the world, wrote to the pope a very strong and respectful letter in his favour*. This university conjures the pontiff not to listen to the reports which the enemies of Luther spread against him; it bears testimony to his orthodoxy; and his fidelity to the holy see; and, to give the greater efficacy to that recommendation, wrote to *Charles de Miltitz*, chamberlain of honour to the pope, intreating him to support it by his good offices. But the recommendation of the university was useless. The pope was desirous of a recantation; and Cajetan had orders to demand it, and not to relax upon that head.

Luther suffered much in the journey to Augsburg†; and before he took up his lodgings with his brethren the Augustins, it is not well known why he staid with the Car-

* This letter is dated on the 27th of September. It is not there requested of the pope that the affair should be judged in Germany. Maimbourg, who has said it, is deceived, as well as Amelot de la Houffaye, who has introduced it in the notes to his translation of the History of the Council of Trent.

† Maimbourg says, that Luther arrived at Augsburg on the 12th of October. He is mistaken; he arrived on the 8th, and appeared on the 12th before the cardinal.

melites. There is, however, a probability that those of his order were afraid to afford him an asylum, and of being involved in his difficulties. Scarcely was he arrived, when an Italian, a domestic of the cardinal's, came to see him; carested him extremely, and assured him of the esteem and good will of his master, and of the great impatience he felt to see him. Luther, unsuspicious, and ignorant that the legate had received orders to seize him in order to have him conveyed to Rome, was so charmed with the caresses of the Italian that he was on the point of falling into the snare, and delivering himself up to the cardinal, when his friends cautioned him to wait to see whether he were furnished with a safe-conduct from the emperor, who was then at the chase. The Italian came again to see him three days afterwards, and reproached him vehemently that he had not yet been with his master; and as Luther excused himself upon account of his waiting for the emperor's safe-conduct, the emissary, irritated at having lost the fruit of his artifices, said to him, "You believe, then, that the elector of Saxony will take up arms out of love for you?" "I should be extremely sorry for
 "it,"

AN 1518. "it," replied Luther. "And where then
 "do you design to abide?" said the Italian.
 "Under the heavens," said Luther, smiling.
 "If you had the pope and the cardinals in
 "your hands," added the Italian, "What
 "would you do to them?" "I would pay
 "them every kind of honour," replied Lu-
 ther. The legate's emissary quitted him after
 these words, biting his fingers, and muttering
 some words between his teeth, which marked
 the emotion he was in.

The emperor granted the safe-conduct, and the cardinal was as chagrined at it as possible. It was directly thwarting the pope, to take under protection a monk whom he had even already condemned, and who, according to the principles of the court of Rome, was not under the jurisdiction of the emperor. But the safe-conduct being sent, the legate thought it necessary to dissemble; and that he might save at least his authority, and claim merit in the eyes of the elector, he informed him that he had consented to it. Luther appeared in his presence on the 12th of October, and would have spoken in a kneeling posture, a submission suggested to him by the Italian, but the cardinal raised him up,

up, and after having listened to him calmly An. 1518. enough *, demanded of him three things: that he should make recantation; that he should remain silent; and that he should abstain, in general, from every thing that could give trouble to the church. He promised him, on these conditions, to make his peace with the pope. The errors which he attributed to him were, his rejecting the doctrine of indulgences established in the bull of Clement VI. and teaching, that he who received the sacrament, ought to believe that he does not thereby receive pardon, and that he is not justified but by faith.

Cajetan and Luther judged very differently of these two controversies. The latter thought that the dispute respecting indulgences was nothing in comparison with that respecting justification; and the cardinal, on the contrary, despised the latter controversy,

* Luther, in his account, affords him this testimony: *Susceptus fui a reverendissimo domino cardinale legato, satis clementer, ac prope reverentius. Vir enim est omnibus nominibus alius, quam hi fratrum venatores robustissimi.* M. de Seckendorf relates, that Cajetan, having seen Luther, said to Stanpitz, that he loved him, and that he did not any longer look on him as a heretic. This must have been in the first interview, after Luther had spoken to the cardinal in a very respectful and submissive manner.

K

and

AN. 1518. and said to Venceſlas Lincius, that if Luther would retract upon the point of indulgences, means would eaſily be found to come to an accommodation upon the other. Staupitz, who had come to Augſburg to aſſiſt his friend, wiſhed that the notaries had taken down theſe words, which would have clearly proved that the court of Rome was very accommodating in matters of faith, and very little ſo upon what concerned its own intereſts.

The legate, deſirous of ſhewing his learning, undertook to convince Luther, who, not conceding to the authority of the ſchoolmen, required proofs from the ſcriptures or from councils. Cajetan promiſed them; but he kept his promiſe very badly. However learned he might be in ſchool-divinity, he underſtood, at that time, nothing at all as to the contents of the holy ſcriptures. Pallavicini himſelf acknowledges this defect in the cardinal, confeſſing that it was not until after this conference that he began to ſtudy the ſcripture. Every thing turned upon the meaning and authority of the bull of Clement VI. and the conteſt was ſmart enough. Queſtions reſpecting penitence, remiſſion of ſins, and grace, were, however, introduced,
but

but without coming to agreement on any article. Two things occurred which particularly displeased the cardinal: the one, that Luther had the boldness to reject the *extravagant* of Clement, alledging that the scripture was therein quoted in a sense manifestly contrary to the intention of the Holy Spirit, and that it was properly only the canonization of the opinion of St. Thomas; the other was, that the cardinal exaggerating the authority of the pope, so as to raise it above the scripture and the councils, and insisting upon the condemnation passed upon the decrees of the council of Basle, Luther opposed him with the appeal of the faculty of theology at Paris, and the writings of Gerson. Cajetan replied to him with emotion, "The theologians of Paris shall be chastised; and as to Gerson and his disciples, they are condemned."

The next day, the 13th of October, Luther presented himself for the second time before the legate, accompanied by four * counsellors of

He appears
a second
time.

* Maimbourg is mistaken when he says that these were senators of Augsburg. See Luther's account, vol. i. alt. p. 22. He names the dean of Trent, and Conrade Peutinger, who shewed much affection for him in this affair. Philip de Feilitsch, and John Ruel,

K 2

a civilian

An. 15:8. of the emperor, by a notary, and by some witnesses. He read a protestation full of respect for the Roman church, and of submission to the catholic church; but he declared, that being convinced of not having advanced any thing which was not orthodox, they neither could nor ought to compel him to any recantation, unless they convinced him to the contrary; that he was ready to give an account of his writings before any tribunal whatever, but that, in particular, he submitted himself to the judgment of the universities of Basle, of Friburg, of Louvain, and of Paris. The cardinal was not satisfied with this protestation; he resumed the dispute; and, without giving Luther time to answer, Staupitz rose and desired that he might be permitted to defend himself in writing; Luther himself requested the same thing, adding, that he had been sufficiently disputed with the day before. The word *battled* *, which he made use of, offended the cardinal, who replied with an affected and

a civilian, accompanied him also. They were sent from the elector to the diet; and there is an account of this conference which was laid before the elector by Ruel.

* Satis fuisse, dicens, mecum anteriori die digladiatum.

pious

pious gentleness, “ Son, I have not con- An. 1518.
 “ tested with you, and I do not come here to
 “ do it; my intention has been only to give
 “ you instructions, and to hear you with
 “ mildness, out of the respect which I have
 “ for the illustrious prince Frederick.” Ca-
 jetan saw the fault he had committed in
 having entered into dispute with Luther, and
 in not having confined himself to the character
 of a judge. It was the most sure and most
 easy part. But he believed himself invincible
 in argument; and this opinion made him
 enter the lists with an adversary, even when he
 had not the advantage with which he flattered
 himself; and destroyed that which he should
 have preserved. It is, however, certain, that
 he disputed according to form; and if he dis-
 avowed it at the moment, it was only through
 vexation, and contrary to the truth. Fra.
 Paolo was mistaken when he said that the
 legate would not enter into dispute with
 Luther. This historian, otherwise so exact,
 has committed some faults in the relation
 which he has given of the conference of
 Augsburg.

In the last interview, which was the 4th of
 October, Luther presented his answer to the
 objections of the cardinal. It is respectful

An. 1518. and moderate, but without meanness and
 without dissimulation. Of indulgences he
 said, " that the merits of Jesus Christ could
 " not compose the treasure of them, because
 " the distribution of these merits had never
 " been committed to men, and it was suf-
 " ficient to have repentance and faith in
 " order to participate of them; that the de-
 " crees of the pontiff might contain errors,
 " and whatever engagements were made to
 " submit to them and to receive them, it was
 " always on the supposition that they agreed
 " with the scripture and the ancient fathers;
 " that St. Peter having been censured by St.
 " Paul, there existed a proof that the popes
 " were not infallible; that they themselves had
 " moreover corrected their own decretals by
 " succeeding ones; that the abbot of Palermo
 " had shown that in matters of faith, not
 " only the council is above the pope, but
 " every believer who supports his opinions
 " by better reasons than he does; that the
 " *extravagant* of Clement contained an evi-
 " dent falsity in attributing superabundant
 " merits to saints, since there was no one who
 " ought not to exclaim with St. Augustine,
 " *Woe to the best life, if it be judged without*
 " *mercy!*" Entering, nevertheless, into the
 examination

examination of the bull, he endeavours to An. 1518.
reconcile it with the scripture and his own
sentiments; and the efforts which he made
for that purpose show, that he would have
been very well pleased not to embroil himself
with the court of Rome, without, however,
abandoning the truth.

Upon the article of justification he said,
“ that faith is only a certain persuasion of
“ the truth of the words and promises of
“ God; that this faith justifies the sinner,
“ because it is the condition of the grace
“ which God sheds into the soul, and by
“ which he renders that soul righteous and
“ holy.” We shall have occasion hereafter
to speak of the sentiments of Luther upon
justification. He concluded his writing by
submitting to the judgment of the church,
and by earnest prayers to the legate to in-
struct him, and to intercede for him with the
pope; “ to the end that his holiness might
“ have compassion on a soul which sought
“ only the truth, and which refused to retract,
“ only because it could not do it without
“ prevarication.”

The legate received this answer with dis-
dain, and said that he would send it to the

AN. 1518. pope. He resumed the matter of indulgences. Luther wished to reply, but as he was continually interrupted, he finally requested that the *extravagant* of Clement might be shown to him, adding, that if it declared that the merits of Jesus Christ are the treasure of indulgences he was ready to retract. The cardinal imagined he had got the better, took the book, and, reading in an emphatical tone, came to the place where it is said *that Jesus Christ has acquired a treasure to the church militant*; Luther then interrupted him: "Take particular notice of
 "this," said he, "and weigh these words
 " *he has acquired*. If Jesus Christ has ac-
 "quired a treasure by his merits, these
 "merits and that treasure must be different
 "things. The merits are not the treasure of
 "the church; but that treasure, viz. the keys
 "of the church, is acquired by the merits." The cardinal, who did not expect this objection, was embarrassed, and, to conceal his confusion, pretended not to understand it, and passed rapidly on to what followed. But Luther perceiving his artifice interrupted him a second time, and said to him in a high tone, which he himself censured as
 disrespectful,

disrespectful*, “ that his eminence ought An. 1518.
 “ not to suppose that the Germans were ig-
 “ norant of the rules of grammar.” This
 charge disconcerted the cardinal, who answer-
 ed it only by ordering Luther either to re-
 tract, or never to appear before him.

When this prelate, however, had pondered
 upon the subject, and recovered from his
 passion, he thought he had better not yet
 give up the matter; that the affair might
 become of much greater consequence than it
 had been; and that he might be rendered
 responsible for its bad success. He then
 quitted disputation, and adopted the method
 of negotiation. He sent for Staupitz, and
 directed him to employ all the influence
 which his age, his authority, his remon-
 strances, and his affection could have over the
 mind of Luther. The vicar-general could
 not, or dared not, refuse him his services;
 but when Cajetan added that he ought also
 to convince him of his error by the scriptures,
 Staupitz replied, “ that the enterprise was
 “ above his powers, and that he was not to

Luther is in-
flexible, and
the cardinal,
who dreads
the conse-
quences, has
recourse to
solicitations.

* The word *eminence* is not in the relation, this title
 not having been given until afterwards to cardinals;
 but it was not possible to introduce *his reverend pater-
 nity*, which are the terms made use of by Luther.

“ be

An. 1518. “ be compared with Luther, either for genius
 “ or knowledge of the sacred books.” A stroke of monastic prudence has been remarked on this occasion, which ought not to be forgotten. Before the conference, Staupitz had absolved Luther from the vow of obedience, either from unwillingness that the outrage which was meditated against him should be a disgrace which would reflect upon the whole order, or from his desire to have an excuse ready at hand, if the cardinal should urge him to enjoin Luther either to silence or to recantation. This latter called that renunciation of his vow of obedience *his first excommunication*. There were three of them, the second of which was that which the pope fulminated against him; the third, his proscription by the emperor.

The solici-
 tations
 shake Lu-
 ther. He
 cannot re-
 solve to re-
 tract; but
 begs par-
 don, and is
 willing to
 be silent,
 provided his
 adversaries
 be more mo-
 derate.

Staupitz and Lincius laboured with all their might to reclaim him; and their mediation was so powerful that they brought him not only to employ his friends to appease the cardinal, but also to write him a letter, submissive even to flattery*. “ He therein
 “ asked pardon for the disrespect with which
 “ he had spoken of the pope, excused himself

* It is dated on the 17th of October.

“ on

“ on account of the violence of his adver-
 “ faries, promised to publish the apology he
 “ had made in his letter, and finally obliged
 “ himself to keep silence, provided his ad-
 “ versaries restrained themselves: but he
 “ steadily refused to retract; and instead of
 “ the authority of St. Thomas, he submitted
 “ himself to that of the church.” Such was
 the fruit of the sollicitations of Staupitz and
 Lincius; a proof that there is not a more
 dangerous temptation to magnanimity than the
 sollicitations of friends. The vicar-general
 was a good man: he had fortified Luther in
 Augsburg itself, and at times said to * him,
 “ Remember, my brother, that you have
 “ begun this undertaking in the name of the
 “ Lord.” But he was too weak and timid
 to support it: so much so indeed as to
 induce Luther to reproach him, “ that he
 “ remained in a state of suspense between
 “ Jesus Christ and the pope.” This good
 old man quitted Saxony, and retired to Saltz-
 burg, the archbishop of which, who was one
 of his friends, offered him a suffragan bishop-

* This is what Luther repeated to him in a letter
 which he wrote him two or three years afterwards.
 Lib. i. ep. 207.

An. 1518. ric in the year 1516. He contented himself with an abbey, where he died in 1524*.

Luther retires secretly; but before he sets out he sends to a notary an appeal to the pope better informed.

While Luther awaited the effect of these submissions, he prepared an appeal from the pope, to the pope better informed; and having received no answer from the cardinal, he put it into the hands of a notary. This appeal was founded upon his not having made a doubt of any article of faith, but only that of indulgences, which belonged neither to counsel † nor precept; upon his having submitted himself to the judgment of the pope or of the church; upon the partiality of the judges which had been assigned him, and upon other reasons of right. Meanwhile, to soften the legate, whom that step did not fail to offend, he excused himself in a letter, and went out of Augsburg on the 20th of October by a private gate, which one of the magistrates directed to be opened for him. He

* He was abbot at Saltzburg, of an abbey of Benedictines which bears the name of St. Peter.

† Les conseils evangeliques, selon l'eglise Romaine, sont distingués des *preceptes*; ils ne passent point pour *preceptes* necessaires à executor. Furetiere.

Evangelical counsels, according to the Roman church, are distinguished from *precepts*; they do not rank as *precepts* necessary to be put in practice. M.

was

was not acquainted, until he got to Neurem- An. 1513.
 berg, with all the danger he had run. It was
 then that he was shown a copy of the brief
 before mentioned, and which contained an
 order to Cajetan to arrest him, and to have
 him conducted to Rome. He was so pro-
 voked as to suffer these words to escape him,
 “ that so diabolical a brief could not be the
 “ work of a pope, and could not have been
 “ drawn up but by a wicked person *.”
 Staupitz and Lincius set out soon after him,
 without taking leave of the legate; and the
 prior of the Carmelites †, who had received
 him into his monastery, fearing lest he should
 suffer punishment for Luther’s escape, went
 to seek an asylum in Saxony.

When Luther was in safety, the notary, The cardinal much irritated writes a menacing letter to the elector.
 not daring to present his appeal, had it posted
 up in the market place of Augsburg; and
 the legate, pretending to be ignorant of it,
 wrote the elector a letter ‡, which, replete
 with flattery as it was, contained some dis-
 guised menaces, with which that prince, who

* In Luther’s letter to Spalatinus of 30th of October.

† He was called John Frosch. He was of Bam-
 berg, and had been admitted doctor in Wittenberg
 in 1516.

‡ It is dated the 25th October.

very

AN. 1518. very well knew the rights of sovereigns, was much offended. Cajetan reproached him with having procured a safe-conduct for an heretic already condemned, and required him, with much haughtiness, either to banish Luther from his territories, or to have him conveyed to Rome. To punish the cardinal for his insolence, the elector thought it proper to send his letter to Luther, with directions to answer it.

False accounts of this conference taken up and corrected.

Such is the history of what passed at Augsb^{urg} between Cajetan and Luther. Fra. Paolo, who gives an abridgment of it in the first book of his History of the Council of Trent, has not been sufficiently well informed*. But the modern historians of the Roman church, who relate this conference, do it in a manner so contrary to the records

* Fra. Paolo says, *that Luther went to the cardinal protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor* : but he had not that safe-conduct until after he arrived at Augsb^{urg} ; and he did not ask it but at the solicitation of his friends. Fra. Paolo further says, *that the legate did not enter into dispute with Luther* ; and it is certain that there was a real dispute between them. He says *that Luther wrote to the Legate a submissive letter after he had left Augsb^{urg}* : but it is certain that the letter was written in Augsb^{urg} itself. There were two of them : one of the 17th, which was written at the instance of Staupitz ; the other of the 18th, to excuse his appeal.

of

of those times, that one cannot sufficiently wonder at either their ignorance or their presumption; and Varillas exceeds all the rest in this respect. An. 1518.

When the issue of the conference at Augs-
burg was known at Rome, great murmurs
were raised against the legate. Some main-
tained that he ought at all events to have
seized Luther; and so much the more, as,
having come without a safe-conduct, he might
have carried him off without wounding the
authority of his imperial majesty. He was
censured by others for having treated him
with too much severity, instead of gaining
him by kindnesses and by offers. Others, in
fine, thought that the cardinal ought to have
contented himself with his submissions, with-
out exacting from him a formal recantation,
and with imposing silence on both parties.
But it is necessary to know whether his in-
structions permitted him to relax so far, and
whether he even could, without discovering
too much weakness, practise any thing of the
sort towards a man condemned by the pope.
The real error of the cardinal was his not
having known the truth; or if he did know
it, his having preferred the interests of the
Roman church.

The court
of Rome is
much dissa-
tisfied with
the conduct
of the car-
dinal in re-
gard to Lu-
ther.

The

An. 1518.

The elector
of Saxony is
in suspense
as to the
part it be-
hoves him
to act in
regard to
Luther.

The elector of Saxony was extremely divided in his sentiments. He had too much sense and penetration not to perceive that Luther had reason to censure the abuses; and if he had not possessed sufficient knowledge to judge of them himself, the university of Wittenberg, his proper counsellors, and the solicitations of many bishops and other learned men, would have enlightened him. As a prince otherwise just, generous, and magnanimous, he could not resolve to abandon a man with whose merit and innocence he was well acquainted. But it was so dangerous for himself, for his dominions, and for his subjects, to protect him openly, that prudence did not permit him to do it; and he was not ignorant that persons the most equitable spread the report that he protected Luther, and those who were less so, that he encouraged him. The inconsistencies which appear in the proceedings of this prince were the consequence of his embarrassment and uncertainty. Sometimes he thought of dismissing Luther; and there is a sure proof of it in a letter from Staupitz which has been already mentioned*. He had given notice

* See above, p. 106.

since

since the month of August to cardinal de St. George * that he would not pretend to be responsible for the writings and sermons of a divine whom he had invited into his university only upon the reputation he possessed for learning and orthodoxy. All this might pass for mere finesse; but it is difficult to conceive that there was any such in the proposal which Spalatinus made to Luther by his order, to leave his dominions and to seek a retreat elsewhere. It was in a conference which they had together at Lichtenberg, that Spalatinus made him the first overture on the subject. Although this proposal was highly distressing in the present posture of his affairs, Luther was not terrified at it. He resolved to obey the orders of the prince as a voice from heaven; he prepared himself for exile, as soon as the pope's excommunication should arrive. "I expect every day," said he to Spalatinus †, "the anathemas from Rome, and I am prepared to set out, like

* *Se nunquam haclenus sumpsisse auctoritatem vel scripta vel conciones Lutheri defendendi.* In an answer to cardinal de St George, formerly cardinal Riairi. His name was Raphael Saman; but having been adopted by George Riairi, his uncle, son to a sister of Sixtus IV. he took his name.

† The letter is dated 25th November.

L

“ Abraham,

An. 1518. “ Abraham, without knowing whither I am
 “ going; but no,” added he, “ I know it
 “ well; for God is every where.” He had
 thoughts, at that time, of withdrawing into
 France, believing he would find protection
 there, because the faculty of Paris entertained
 the same sentiments as himself upon the au-
 thority of the pope, and upon the council of
 Bâle; besides, the ambassador of Francis I.
 at the diet of Augsbург, had invited him
 thither, through the good will and esteem
 which he had conceived for him. But when
 he acquainted the elector with his resolution,
 that prince changed his sentiments, and di-
 rected him to stay at Wittenberg. There
 can be no doubt but that this was agreeable
 to Luther: his only fear was that he should
 be fettered by the politicks of the court, as he
 expressed himself to Spalatinus *; “ I do not
 “ know what I ought to wish; for if I stay
 “ here, I shall not have the liberty of saying
 “ and writing what I think; whereas if I go,
 “ I shall say every thing, and shall offer my
 “ life to Jesus Christ.”

The elector
 determines
 to protect
 Luther.

When Luther perceived that the elector
 was resolved not to abandon him, he intreated

* The letter is dated 2d December 1518.

that

that prince to write to Rome, and to request An. 1518.
of the pope that his concerns might be examined and decided in Germany. But the elector, always extremely circumspect, thought that he ought not to enter directly into this matter, nor to commit himself by asking favours of the pope, already prejudiced against him, for fear of drawing a refusal on himself, or demands on the part of the pope; and, what was much more to be dreaded, for fear of giving the pontiff a pretence to entangle him in so delicate an affair. He judged, therefore, that the interference of the emperor would be less suspected and more efficacious than his own; and he thereupon sent orders * to Pfeffinger, his minister at the court of his imperial majesty, to lay before him the conduct which the legate had adopted in regard to Luther, and the letter which he had written to him, to request his intercession with the pope, to the end that Luther's matter might be adjusted, and that judges, who could not be suspected, should be assigned him in Germany. To this he added, that Luther being a good man, and

* The instruction is dated on the 19th of November 1518.

An. 1518. ready to listen and receive whatever solid instructions were given him, there was a manifest injustice in forcing him to a recantation. But at the same time that these instructions were sent to Pfeffinger, Luther addressed to the elector * the relation of what passed in the conference of Augsburg. It may serve as an answer to the letter which the cardinal wrote to the prince. In it Luther protests “ that the elector never
 “ countenanced him in opposing indulgences,
 “ nor encouraged him to maintain the dispute which he had begun upon the subject ; that he had never even wrote concerning it to any one, but to the arch-
 “ bishop of Magdeburg, and the bishop of
 “ Brandenburg ; because as it was a matter
 “ of religion, he was not ignorant that the
 “ cognisance of it belonged only to the ecclesiastical tribunal. He concluded by assuring Frederick, that, in order not to
 “ involve him in the misfortunes which were
 “ about to fall upon himself, he was resolved
 “ to quit Saxony, and to retire whithersoever

* Luther's letter to the elector, which is properly the answer to that which Cajetan had written to this prince, is dated on the same day, 19th November 1518. Mr. de Seckendorf has put the 29th ; but in Luther's works it is dated the 19th.

“ the

“ the mercy of God might conduct him; that An. 1518.
 “ he should be extremely sorry to expose
 “ so good a prince to hatred and dangers
 “ which ought only to affect himself; and
 “ that into whatever place he might be cast
 “ by the tempest, he should never cease either
 “ to remember his kindness, or to pray to
 “ God for his prosperity.”

This letter has been much criticised *, and Encomium
upon Frede-
rick elector
of Saxony.
 endeavours have been used to make just and
 moderate praises pass for artificial and in-
 terested flattery. But although that were
 true, it would ill become those who do not
 refuse even divine honours to princes who
 favour them, to censure such an eulogy.
 The wisdom and virtue of Frederick were so
 universally known and esteemed, that it may
 be said without exaggeration, that if he had
 espoused the cause of Rome, he might have
 aspired to an apotheosis. Luther, however,
 said nothing to his honour, but what the most
 learned men of his age have said. It has

* Volo interim oblivisci acerrimum illud, et om-
 nibus quoque doctissimis formidabile iudicium, quo
 Deus insignivit præ omnibus, quos nostra vidit ætas,
 ingenium principis Frederici. These are the words
 which Pallavicini censures. Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. i.
 c. 2. § 3.

An. 1518. been already remarked, that Frederick was a prince perfectly well made. He had a lofty and majestic air, a penetrating understanding, a happy memory, and an unshaken mind. He was, besides, just, mild, sober, and temperate. He was attached to religion, to the good of his subjects, and to polite literature; and it has been reported that he had often in his mouth that fine saying of Alexander, “It is much more noble and excellent to surpass others in knowledge, than in authority and riches.” Together with all this, he was a great politician; but his politicks were such as did not corrupt his virtue. He was esteemed by every one, and above all by the emperor, who knew his merit; and he never permitted his ministers to acquire that ascendancy which renders them the masters of the prince and the state: In a word, he was such as to be thought worthy by posterity to be distinguished by the glorious title of **FREDERICK THE WISE.**

This prince confirms the resolution he had taken to protect Luther.

It was after having received the above letter, that the elector directed Spalatinus to acquaint Luther from him, that he had only to remain at Wittenberg; but at the same time he had a copy made thereof, and sent it to the legate, accompanied

accompanied by an answer *, short and dry, An. 1518.
 in which, without giving himself the trouble
 of noticing the menaces and haughty ex-
 pressions of the legate, he contented himself
 with telling him, “ that he had sent Lu-
 “ ther to Augsburg as he had promised ;
 “ that it would be necessary to convince
 “ him of error, and not to command him
 “ in an absolute manner to retract ; that
 “ very orthodox universities had assured
 “ him his doctrine was pure ; and that he
 “ was resolved not to deprive that of Wit-
 “ tenberg of an instructor for whom it had
 “ occasion.” In fact, the university of Wit-
 tenberg had requested it of the prince, pro-
 testing, at the same time, that Luther was
 perfectly catholic.

The same year this university had the ho-
 nour of acquiring a man who encreased its
 reputation greatly, and who was of very con-
 siderable service to Luther. This person
 was PHILIP MELANCHTHON, born at Brette,
 a little village in the palatinate, of a father
 who was a gunsmith, but so celebrated in his
 art that he was known to the emperor and to
 all the nobility of the empire. His name

Frederick
 places Me-
 lanchthon
 in the uni-
 versity of
 Wittenberg.

* The elector's letter is from Altenburg, dated 8th
 December 1518.

An. 1518. was *George Schwartzerden*, that is to say, in German, *black earth*. But John * *Reuchlin*, whose relation he was, changed his name to that of *Melanchthon*, which signifies the same thing in Greek. Philip was diminutive, and of a mien which did not prejudice in his favour; but he had fine parts, a happy memory, and an exquisite taste for the belles lettres. For four years he taught rhetoric at Tübingen, until the elector requested Capnion to procure him two learned professors for his university, the one for the hebrew language, the other for the greek. Capnion replied, that he at first wished to send *Æcolampadius* for the Hebrew, but that he was detained at Bâle; that he did not know in all Germany any layman capable of teaching that language but Paul Riccius, physician to the bishop of Gurck; nor any ecclesiastic but Conrade Pellican a cordelier in the monastery of Ruffac †. For the Greek he pointed out Philip, who was then only in his

* Hermolaus Barbarus had in the same manner changed the name of *Reuchlin*, formed from a German word which signifies *smoke*, into that of *Capnion*, taken from the Greek, and which signifies the same thing.

† A town in Alsace, and the place of Pellican's birth.

twenty-

twenty-second year, but in such great reputation for polite literature that Erasmus wrote about that time to *Æcolampadius* *, “ that “ if God preserved that young man, he “ would rob him of the fame which he had “ acquired.” An. 1518.

As Philip’s figure did not answer to his talents, he did not at first meet at Wittenberg with the reception he deserved. But when they heard the discourse which he pronounced the day of his installation †, every body admired him; and Luther himself was so charmed with his talents, that he assured him he would never choose to have any other master for the greek language. From this time there sprung up between them that intimate friendship, which nothing was ever able to dissolve.

Prierias, one of Luther’s adversaries, chose to defend his first work by a second, much worse than the former. He therein collected together all that the canonists and divines of Italy had said, however extravagant, relative to the authority of the pope. He made the Prierias writes a second time against Luther.

* The letter is from Louvain, 1518.

† Philip arrived at Wittenberg on the 25th of August.

pontiff

Ann. 1518. pontiff of Rome the universal monarch of the world: all the princes are but his vassals or his vice-roys: he alone is bishop by divine right, and all the other bishops do but exercise his authority under him: he is superior to the universal church: he alone has power to determine the true sense of scripture, and of the divine laws*; “and although he
 “should carry offence to such height as to
 “drag the people in crowds into hell, neither
 “the universal council, nor all the world
 “together, would have the power to judge
 “and depose him, supposing he had been
 “lawfully elected.”

He does it
 in a manner
 so extravagant
 that
 Rome itself
 blushes at it.

Although a work so indecent and extravagant contained nothing, after all, but the theology of Rome; yet as it came out of season, it displeased every body, and even Rome itself. It directly tended to draw the whole dispute upon the delicate subject of the autho-

* Pontifex indubitatus, ne dum a concilio, sed neque a toto mundo, potest jure deponi vel judicari, etiam ita sit scandalosus, ut populos secum catervatim ducat ad diabolum.

It is not surprising after this, that Maimbourg should have said that Prierias had spoken of the authority of the pope in terms which Rome itself did not approve, b. i. Erasmus has gone further: *Respondit Prierias tam feliciter, ut ipse pontifex indixerit illi silentium.* Erasmus. ep. 7. lib. ix.

rity

rity of the popes, the discussion of which is An. 1518. always highly dangerous; to furnish Luther with the most plausible reasons for attacking him, and to gain to his side all the equitable and moderate catholics. Great care was taken, nevertheless, not to offend the author by any censure; he was only requested not to write any more, and the Dominicans endeavoured to suppress the work.

Luther, however, prevented them greatly from accomplishing their design. Prierias intending to write against him, had actually written in his favour; and judging with reason that he could do nothing more advantageous to his cause than to publish the impious doctrine of his adversary, and the maxims of the court of Rome, Luther had the book reprinted at Wittenberg; and contented himself with writing a preface to it, some notes, and a conclusion in which he did not observe the bounds which he had hitherto kept. On this occasion, he observed *, “ that if the pretensions of the

Luther profits by the imprudence of Prierias.

* Among the works of Luther a little tract by Prierias has been printed, which he calls *his reply to Luther*. This is followed by another, entitled, *De juridica, et irrefragabili veritate Romanæ ecclesiæ, Romani-que pontificis, liber tertius, index quidem longissimus, sed brevissima epitome*. It is this *index* which is the subject of Luther's reflections.

“ pope

AN. 1518. " pope were such as Prierias set forth, and if
 " the flatterers of the court of Rome per-
 " severed in publishing and maintaining such
 " impieties, it would be necessary, in truth,
 " to exhort them first of all to repent; but
 " that after remonstrances, there remained no
 " other remedy but that of an exemplary
 " chastisement to avenge the majesty of
 " princes, and to exterminate those monsters
 " who were desirous of attributing to the
 " pope the rights of God and of all sove-
 " reigns." He added; " If this be what
 " they believe and teach at Rome, and if the
 " pope and the cardinals are informed of it,
 " of which I cannot persuade myself, I here
 " boldly declare that Antichrist is sitting in
 " the temple of God; that he reigns at
 " Rome, that Babylon, clothed in purple!
 " and that the court of Rome is the syna-
 " gogue of Satan." He concluded his pre-
 " face with these words: " Adieu unhappy
 " Rome! Lost and blasphemous Rome!
 " The indignation of God is risen upon thee
 " to the utmost height, which thou hast but
 " too well deserved. Far from receiving any
 " advantage from the prayers which have
 " been made for thee, thou hast become more
 " wicked by their means. The wounds of
 " Babylon

“ Babylon have been dressed, but she has not An. 1518.
 “ been healed. Let us now desist. Let her
 “ be the resort of dragons, evil spirits, and
 “ monsters; let her remain in everlasting
 “ confusion. She is full of idols, of misers,
 “ of traitors, of apostates, of infamous per-
 “ sons, of robbers, of Simons, and is, as it
 “ were, a new pantheon of impiety. Fare-
 “ well, reader; pardon my grief and com-
 “ passionate it.”

However violent these imprecations were, Luther's
zeal justi-
fied.
 it would be wrong to condemn them. They
 are only minds indifferent about religion,
 who, colouring their secret impiety with a
 false moderation, dare to censure the indig-
 nation of a servant of God in such a con-
 juncture. For, in short, who can endure,
 without a holy wrath, that to a vicious and
 mortal man should be attributed the glory
 and the prerogatives of the divinity; that he
 should be made the arbiter of truth, and of the
 salvation of souls; and that the foundations
 of public security should be overthrown, by
 giving him an immediate sovereignty over
 all the states of the world, in quality of the
 vicar of Jesus Christ? After all, does not the
 famous inscription of Louis XII. *Perdam*
Babylonis Nomen, (see before page 4), in-
 clude all that Luther has said, however strong
it

An. 1518. it may be? Meanwhile, although Prierias's book appeared that year, there is great probability that the little works with which Luther accompanied it, when he had it reprinted, were not composed, or at least published, until the year 1520, when he saw he had been condemned at Rome, and that neither justice nor reformation were longer to be expected on the part of a court resolved to maintain abuses at all events.

He publishes the acts of the conference of Augsburg, and joins with them his reflections and his appeal to the council.

Very different sentiments were expressed upon what had passed at the conference of Augsburg. As Luther possessed the favour of the public, the greater part gave him the advantage; but the partisans of the pope, consulting only their own interest, declared the contrary. To overthrow these false prejudices Luther printed the acts of the conference. The elector, who had at first consented to it, changed his mind. Although he protected Luther, he wished still to keep on good terms with the court of Rome. He therefore sent a counter order, but too late. The printing of the acts was finished; and the first sheets already distributed. For such, indeed, was the usual destiny of Luther's works. The public who expected them with extreme impatience, tore them out of the hands

hands of the booksellers; which evidently An. 1518. shews how much the ancient superstitions were hated, and the reformation desired. He gave not only the relation of all that passed at Augsburg, but he added very free reflections, in which he began to question whether the authority of the pope over all the churches be fully proved by those words of Jesus Christ: "Thou art Peter; and upon this
"rock I will build my church." He had not before proceeded so far. Besides these acts, as he every day expected excommunication, he thought it proper to draw up a new appeal to the council. But, as he did not wish that this writing should be published before the excommunication should arrive, he forbade the printer to issue any copy of it without his order. He was not able to enforce this. The piece became public as soon as printed. This was a new offence to the pope, although, in fact, there was nothing in that appeal which was not catholic, because it solely established the superiority of the council above the pope.

The court of Rome did not proceed so fast as Luther apprehended. It perceived that it had been precipitate as to the citation, in having proceeded without being

The court of Rome fears Luther; soothes him, and sends Militz into Germany to gain him.

An. 1518. well acquainted either with the character of Luther, or the disposition of the people. But when it had considered his firmness before the cardinal, the applause which he publicly received, and the protection of the elector of Saxony which began to shew itself, and which might engage other powers in his interests, it judged that it ought to keep back its thunder for some time, in order that the apprehension entertained of it might give weight to the negotiation. It was desirous, therefore, on one side to maintain its indulgences, the discredit of which was near drying up one of the principal sources of its riches; and, on the other, to make the last efforts to gain Luther, supposing that it was impossible to oblige the elector to give him up. Under this idea the pope issued a bull *, dated the 9th of November, in which he established the doctrine of indulgences upon the immemorial usage of the church, and ordered that they should be preached up under pain of excommunication, *late sententie*. Great tenderness was shewn to the honour of Luther, who was not named in it; and he had also the satisfaction to see himself justified, at least in part, since his ad-

* This bull was published at Lintz, the 13th of December.

versaries were there taxed “with having in- An. 1518.
 “fused errors into the minds of many, al-
 “though they had been sent only to preach
 “the word of God.” But this bull had
 scarcely any effect. It required more than
 the authority of the pope to reinstate indul-
 gences in their ancient reputation; and those
 who preached them derived thence scarcely
 any other fruit than contempt and ridicule.
 As for Luther, he saw with pleasure that the
 court of Rome began to be softened; but he
 was very far from falling into the snare that
 was laid for him. For as he had submitted
 to the authority of the pope, and as that
 pontiff had just decided in favour of indul-
 gences, without making any stroke at his re-
 putation, it afforded him a fair opportunity to
 make an honourable retreat, by writing to
 the pope that he submitted to his bull, and
 would say no more about indulgences; but
 the knowledge he had acquired did not per-
 mit him to adopt this measure, and the nego-
 tiation was as ineffectual as the bull. Charles
 de Miltitz, of an ancient house of Misnia,
 chamberlain of honour to the pope, came
 into Germany under pretext of being obliged
 to do so upon his private affairs, but in reality
 upon those of his master. He arrived towards

M

the

An. 1518. the end of the year 1518, and entered upon a negotiation which continued for a length of time, and which, apparently, would have turned to the advantage of the court of Rome, if it had known how to profit by it. This shall be related in the following book.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

HISTORY, &c.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE court of Saxony was not without inquietude when it learned the departure of the nuncio, and his commission. The elector adhered to his resolution of not giving up Luther: but it was difficult to find reasons for refusing; for, besides that this prince feared the power of the pope, Luther was a monk, and of course amenable to his authority; and the point in question was of a religious nature. Now, the pontiffs had the art, for a length of time, to persuade the princes and their ministers, that they could not intermeddle in affairs of that sort without being guilty of sacrilegious encroachment. But, although Frederick had been sufficiently enlightened not to be stopped by such groundless scruples, yet he was not able to

An. 1519.
The court of Saxony is alarmed at the coming of the nuncio.

An. 1519. secure himself from the pope's excommunication; and without doubt he was not ignorant to what dreadful extremities the bishops of Rome had reduced, by that method, princes more powerful than the dukes of Saxony. Thus the elector found himself agitated by those inquietudes which are inevitable in conjunctures, wherein a person perceives all the greatness of the danger, and is ignorant of the path which he ought to follow to secure himself from it.

The elector adopts the measure of making Luther a prisoner, and acquaints Cajetan of it.

Luther, acquainted with the sentiments of the duke his master, again had thoughts of withdrawing himself from Wittemberg. But that prince would by no means consent to it; although, on the other hand, he was afraid to leave him at Wittemberg, as he should be under the necessity of refusing him to the nuncio. He therefore adopted the measure of making him a prisoner, and of acquainting the nuncio of it *, with a promise of having him brought before such judges as should be allotted him, provided it were in Germany. This design was communicated to Luther, who said, “ that he was in the hands of God “ and his friends.”

* This is to be seen in a letter from Luther to Spalatinus of the 2d of December 1518.

While

While these things were going on, the nuncio arrived: but as he was ignorant of the secret inquietudes of the court of Saxony; and as he saw, in passing through Germany, the love and universal esteem which the people entertained for Luther, he abandoned the design of conveying him to Rome, and thought only of the means of reconciling him with the pope. The first was, however, the principal design of his commission. On setting out from Rome, Leo had charged him with seventy briefs. He had some for the Elector, for Pseffinger, for Spalatinus, for the commandant, and for the magistrates of Wittemberg. The rest were to be posted up in the cities through which the nuncio should pass on his return, in order to assure his conquest and his journey. But as soon as he had set foot in the empire, he saw clearly that all the briefs would be useless; and he himself asserted, that although the court of Saxony had delivered up Luther to him, he would have needed more than twenty-five thousand men to bring him to the pope. Thus, abandoning the character of an adversary, Miltitz assumed that of a mediator, and Spalatinus wrote to Luther, that if he had not quitted Wittemberg, he should remain there, be-

An. 1519.
The nuncio
is busied only
with the care
of reconciling
Luther
with the
pope.

An. 1519. cause the nuncio afforded hopes of reconciliation.

He endeavours to convince Luther of error, and to bring him to a recantation.

He began by praising Luther's zeal and talents, and by condemning the impieties and profanations of the collectors. He blamed the former only for having quarrelled with the pope, and having attacked his authority, which ought to be sacred to all the world, but especially to a monk, whom his profession obliged to a submission and entire devotion to the holy see. He added, that notwithstanding that offence the pope was ready to pardon him; that his holiness had sufficiently testified his good-will by deferring till then the excommunication which he had incurred, and by not pronouncing any censure against him in the last bull, although his adversaries had been disgraced in it; that if he were sincere, he ought no longer to delay his recantation, because he had solemnly submitted himself to the pope, and the pope had decided in favour of indulgences. Miltitz represented afterwards to the counsellors of the elector, the great esteem which the pontiff had for their master, and of which his holiness had given him a striking proof by the *golden rose*, which he was shortly to present to him on his part;

part; he laid before them the dangerous consequences which quarrels between these two princes might produce, and the lamentable effects of a schism which seemed inevitable if Luther were supported; and if he still obstinately maintained opinions which had been condemned.

In order to procure a more favourable reception to his remonstrances, the nuncio resolved to chastise Tetzels who had been the cause of the disorder *. He wrote to him to repair to Altenburg. This dominican was then at Leipfick, living retired in the monastery of St. Paul, where he began to suffer the punishment of his sins. He replied to the nuncio, “ that Luther had excited against him Germany, Poland, and Hungary; that there was no place where he could be in safety; that the legate himself would not listen to his justification upon the charge of blasphemy against the Holy Virgin, which Luther had preferred against him; that when he preached at Leipfick, he perceived upon every countenance nothing but menaces and contempt; but that whatever

The nuncio determines to punish Tetzels.

* The letter from Miltitz to Tetzels is on the last day of December 1518: but as the year then commenced from Christmas-day, it is dated in 1519.

AN. 1519. "calamities he might have endured for the
 "holy see, he would defend its sacred pre-
 "rogatives until death."

The nuncio
 promises to
 have the
 matter de-
 cided by
 German
 bishops.

Tetzel having excused himself from appearing, Miltitz demanded an interview with Luther. The latter declined it, upon the apprehension that it might prejudice his appeal. He nevertheless consented to it; and the interview took place at Altenburg*, in the house of Spalatinus, in the beginning of January 1519. The nuncio at first enlarged upon the wrongs which Luther had done to the pope, the imminent danger of a schism, for which he alone and the elector of Saxony would have to answer; and, lastly, the danger into which he was precipitating himself. He lavished praises on him; he embraced him; he shed tears; he abused the collectors; and, to say all in a word, he omitted nothing he could think of, either to intimidate or soften him. Luther replied, that the first cause of the evil was in the pope, whose intentions were good, but who had suffered himself to be led away by the usurers of Florence:

There is in manuscript the account which Luther gave the elector of this conference, from which the particulars here related are taken.

the

the second, in the avarice of the archbishop of Mentz, who pillaged Germany by means of indulgences, in order to pay for the *pallium* from Rome; and for the dispensations contrary to the canons in order to hold at once two archbishoprics, and one bishopric: and the third, in the impudence and licentiousness of the collectors: that the only remedy was to impose silence on both parties, because he could not avoid defending himself if he were attacked, and that it was then to be feared that what was only a jest, might become a very serious affair; that, in fine, he was very willing to repair the injury which the pope supposed he had received; that he would write him, for that purpose, a very respectful letter, in which he would acknowledge that he had been carried to excess; and that he would publish a book, in which, justifying his conduct, and excusing his faults, he would exhort all the world to honour the holy see, and to obey it. With respect to retraction, he declared so strongly that he would never accede to it, that the nuncio thought he ought not to persist in requiring it. However, as the affair had proceeded too far to be terminated without a decision, Miltitz was desirous he should submit

An. 1519. mit it to that of the pope, assuring him it would be favourable. But Luther, not daring to trust to this, proposed that the pope should name judges in Germany, who having secret orders to procrastinate the business, might let it fall insensibly into oblivion, by which method he proposed to save both the pope's honour and his own. He even named the archbishop of Saltzburg for one of his judges; and it is suspected that this was by the advice of Spalatinus, perhaps, because that prelate was a friend of Staupitz. But however this may be, the choice could not be more imprudent; for the archbishop passed for a man full of art, and destitute of religion. They agreed at last that Miltitz should prevail on the court of Rome to impose silence on both parties, and that the decision of the affair should be referred to German bishops; and they named the archbishop of Treves, and the bishop of Freisingen; that, in the mean time, Luther should remain in peace, and that he should write a letter of submission to the pope.

The elector promises, at first, to write to the pope in favour of Luther, and refuses afterwards to send the letter.

The elector on his side engaged to write to the pope; and that letter, which is still in existence, contained his defence in regard to what he had done to satisfy his

his holiness, either by sending Luther to Augsbург, or by obliging him to appear before the nuncio. In it he testified of Luther, that he had been always full of submission to the holy see; that he had never disputed against its authority, or against indulgences until he was forced to it; that he was esteemed by all the learned, and was extremely worthy of the good-will of the holy father. But this prince, who possessed an extraordinary degree of foresight, considering that he was already suspected, and that if he began to meddle in the affair, the pope might easily imagine that he took a great interest in it, and be displeased with him; that he might order him to detain Luther in his dominions, and hold him responsible for his escape, if he should happen to withdraw himself; this prince, I say, refused to sign the letter*, which had been already prepared, and acquainted Miltitz that he was determined to remain neuter.

Miltitz having no more to do at the court of Saxony, because the *golden rose*, and the time of presenting it, were not yet arrived,

Miltitz sets out for Leip-sick, punishes Tetzels, discovers his rogueries, and acquaints the pope of them.

* The letter which the elector wrote thereupon to Fabion de Feilitzsch is dated from Torgaw, the 11th of January 1519.

set

An. 1519. set out to meet Cajetan at Coblentz, and to give him an account of his negotiation; for his instructions contained a prohibition to attempt any thing without the approbation of the legate. He passed through Leipfick, and twice called Tetzal and his superior before him. He censured them rigorously, both one and the other; but he loaded the former with so many reproaches and menaces, that the unfortunate man fell into a state of sorrow and despair, which obliged Luther to write to him in order to console him. He judged by the conversation of Miltitz that his adversary would reconcile himself to the pope, and that he should be the victim of their reconciliation. And, in fact, the nuncio instituted an inquiry into his conduct, and convicted him of a great number of impostures and rogueries.

Miltitz acquainted Pfeffinger with it *, adding, that it appeared by the accounts of the collection which the merchants of Leipfick had shewn him, that Tetzal had eighty florins per month for himself, and ten for his servant, without reckoning their diet or the feeding of their horses, and the robberies

* The original of Miltitz's letter, which is in existence, is dated from Greffenthan.

which

which could not be proved. “I know all An. 1519.
 “that,” said the nuncio, “and many other
 “things: he has moreover two children.”
 In truth the sum of ninety florins monthly was
 so considerable in those times, that the states
 of Saxony, who did not like Pfeffinger, soli-
 cited the elector to dismiss him, under pre-
 text that he cost him too much. He had,
 however, but four hundred florins * for his
 annual salary, and he was a counsellor of
 state.

Miltitz † gave advice to the court that he Luther dis-
 covers great
 weakness in
 the letter
 which he
 writes to the
 pope.
 had chastised Tetzels, and acquainted the pope
 of his rogueries; and Luther, on his side,
 wrote the letter of submission‡ which he had
 promised. It began with these words:
 “Most holy father, I am obliged to write
 “again to your holiness, and to address
 “myself to your high majesty, I, who am
 “the lowest of men, and the dust of the
 “earth. I supplicate, therefore, your holi-
 “ness, who hath the mildness and the patience
 “of a father, and of a vicar of Jesus Christ, to
 “listen favourably to the groans of a sheep of

* A German florin was two thirds of a French
 crown, as the florin of Holland is at this time.

† Miltitz letter is dated the 6th of February 1519.

‡ Luther's letter is dated the 6th of March 1519.

“ which

An. 1519. “ which your holiness is the shepherd.” He then relates, that Miltitz reproached him with having been deficient in respect to the holy see; and after having testified an extreme sorrow, that an enterprise which he had undertaken only for the honour of the Roman church, and which many had endeavoured to render odious, should be regarded by the pope as a disrespect, he continued thus: “ What shall I do, holy father? I do not “ know what course to take; I cannot support the weight of your displeasure, and I “ do not perceive the means of delivering “ myself from it. I am required to revoke “ my theses. I would do it this moment, if “ that could produce the desired effect.” He adds, that this retraction would not only be useless, because his writings were in the hands of every one, but that it would do great injury to the Roman church, inasmuch as it would afford occasion to believe that that church approves of the impostures and blasphemies which he had opposed. Lastly, he protests that he never pretended to deny the power of the pope, which he acknowledged to be inferior only to that of Jesus Christ; that he will exhort the people to honour the holy see; that he will vindicate it from the
profane

profane exaggerations of the collectors; that he will drop for ever the matter of indulgences, provided his opponents renounce their impostures, and that, in a word, there is nothing which he is not ready to do for the satisfaction of his holiness. An. 1519.

It must be confessed that this letter is a sad monument of the weakness of man; and Luther would be inexcusable if he had then had the knowledge which he afterwards possessed; but he was not acquainted with all the mysteries of iniquity; and although he could not find in scripture the foundation of the papal power, he considered that it was, nevertheless, established upon the decrees of councils, and the canons of the church. Besides, the sollicitations of his friends, the caresses of the nuncio, the consequences of a schism, and, finally, the interest of his repose and security, led him to that mean compliance with the court of Rome. That of Saxony had commanded him expressly to make no attack whatever upon the authority of the holy see, so much did the elector fear lest some writings should escape him, which might break the negotiation. He obeyed, therefore, but it was not without great struggles;

His compliance for the court of Saxony causes him great disquiet.

An. 1519. gles; for he wrote to Spalatinus*, who had acquainted him with the intentions of the court, that the decrees of the pope, which he was then reading in order to prepare himself for the disputation at Leipstick, “ put him in “ doubt whether the pope were antichrist or “ his apostle, so miserably was Jesus Christ “ crucified in these decrees.” In this manner he expressed the dreadful abuse which was therein made of the words of the gospel. He adds: “ I am cruelly tormented to see “ the people thus imposed on, under pre- “ text of the laws of Jesus Christ and of the “ christian name.” However this may be, Luther had the weakness to write that letter, and the pope the imprudence not to profit by it †, while providence afforded to the former the leisure to instruct himself, and to recover from his state of torpor; the interregnum, besides, which had commenced with that year, favoured the progress of his doc-

* This letter was dated on Sunday called *Invocavit*, that is to say in the beginning of February 1519.

† Si Moguntinus a principio, cum a me admoneretur; denique, si papa, antequam me non auditum dampnaret, et bullis suis sæviret, hoc cepisset concilium, quod Carolus Miltitius cepit, et statim compescuissent Tetzelianum furorem, non evenisset res in tantum tumultum, Luth. Oper. Lat. in Præf. tom. i.

trine,

trine, and drew the attention of his enemies to another quarter. An. 1519.

Maximilian liked neither the pope nor the monks; he knew the gross abuses which had been introduced, and all the empire complained of them; but he was prejudiced, like all the princes of his time, in favour of the ancient superstitions. This prince died at the commencement of 1519. The elector of Saxony had the vicarship of the empire in the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony, and in some other provinces where his jurisdiction extended during the interregnum. At this time those who entertained an esteem for Luther began to declare themselves. They found in Frederick the authority necessary to protect them, and an example which the wisest gloried in following. Every person, besides, entertained so high an opinion of the wisdom and integrity of this prince, that no one could imagine he would protect a seditious and heretical monk. Thus the reputation of Frederick giving a new weight to his authority, and the writings of Luther spreading far and wide, it is scarcely to be believed how many disciples he acquired, and with what readiness. His courage was admired; his doctrine was approved; an ac-

The decease of the emperor gives authority to Luther and his doctrine by means of the vicarship.

N

quaintance

An. 1519. acquaintance with the author was sought. People came from all parts to Wittemberg; and the inhabitants of the suburbs were to be heard giving thanks to God, with clasped hands, and eyes raised to heaven, that Wittemberg was become a second Sion, whence the light of the gospel was diffusing itself through the whole world.

The arch-
bishop of
Treves con-
sents to de-
cide on Lu-
ther's busi-
ness.

Miltitz having reported to Cajetan the success of his negotiation, the archbishop of Treves wrote to the elector *, that since Luther was willing to submit himself to his judgment, he prayed that prince to send him to Coblentz, where he would be in safety; that he would decide on this affair as an honest man, and that although he entertained respect for the pope, he had also an affection for the order of the Augustins. The legate concurred in these sentiments. Two days afterwards he wrote to Frederick that he would send the nuncio to present him with the *consecrated rose* on the part of the pope; that this present being appropriated only to princes of the first rank, and who had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the holy see, the elector might thereby judge

* The archbishop's letter is dated the 3d of May.

of the esteem which his holiness felt for him; An. 1519.
 finally, that this honour could not be bestowed on any one to whom the cardinal would more earnestly wish *every kind of greatness*.
 He adds: "It is necessary also that your
 "excellency should continue to emulate the
 "example of your predecessors, who have
 "rendered great services to the sovereign
 "pontiff and to the christian religion; that
 "you should honour the Roman orthodox
 "church, and that you should courageously
 "defend it."

Two strokes of policy are observable in this letter. The one, that there is not a word of Luther, nor of what the archbishop of Treves had written, in order to induce the elector to believe that the legate took no part in it, and that he was not desirous of deciding on it. The other, that in assuring this prince there was no person to whom he wished with more earnestness *every kind of greatness*, he was desirous to lead his thoughts to the empire, then vacant, and to insinuate, that, in order to succeed, he must not obstinately continue to support a monk against the pope. The design of his embassy, however, was to get Francis I. chosen, or any other person, provided Charles king of Spain were excluded.

An. 1519. cluded. Robert des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, had the same commission.

Luther does not appear before the archbishop, and his affair is referred to the diet of Francfort.

The elector * wrote to the archbishop that he was on his journey to be present at the diet of Francfort, where they would see each other; and that in the meantime he would let Luther know what the prelate had written to him. The latter pressed by the nuncio, who had returned into Saxony, to appear at Coblentz, excused himself on the score of the archbishop having no commission from the pope, on which account his judgment would have no effect except in the event of condemnation; alleging besides, that he could not travel in safety during the interregnum.

He further represented, that Cajetan being at Coblentz, it was, in reality, causing him to be judged by the legate, because the archbishop would do nothing but by his advice; and that, lastly, although he had acknowledged the former as his judge, yet he had not understood he was to be so alone, and without the assistance of some bishops. Miltitz not being able to reply to reasons so just, and constrained, besides, to follow the orders of the

* The elector's letter is dated from Iselburg, a castle in Franconia, the 8th of June 1519.

legate,

legate, began to solicit Luther to terminate An. 1519.
the affair by the most sure and expeditious
method, which was that of retraction. But
he constantly replied, that a retraction which
was not founded upon good reasons would
pass in the world only for an effect of his weak-
ness and of the injustice of his judges; and that
it was necessary, above all things, to instruct
and convince him. It is easy to see by this
account that Cajetan had not approved the
conduct of Miltitz, and that the court of
Rome absolutely required a retraction; which
circumstance spoiled every thing. However
the case might be, the project of having Lu-
ther judged by the archbishop of Treves
proved abortive; and that prelate agreed in
opinion with the elector at Francfort, that
the affair ought to be referred to the diet
to be held in the month of November;
but which was put off until the end of the
following year.

In the meantime Luther found his courage
raised by the universal approbation which
the learned and good bestowed on him. His
writings flew from Germany to France, to
Italy, to England, to Hungary, to Poland.
Thirsting after the gospel, and rejecting
monkish fables and the doctrines of men,

Luther's
courage is
animated by
the praises
which are
given him
from all
parts.

An. 1519. the public eagerly perused works, in which they found good sense and the spirit of the gospel. The clamours of monks, almost universally detested on account of their ignorance, their tyranny, and their bad conduct, could hardly have power to turn aside the common people from these pursuits. The celebrated painter, Froben*, gave him advice of his success, and acquainted him that it was publicly said at Paris, that it had long been wished that those who treated on sacred subjects, should do it with the freedom and solidity which were found in his writings; that in Italy itself many epigrams had appeared in his praise, and that the cardinal of Sion †, one of the most learned men of his age, could not refrain from crying out, alluding to his name, *O Luther! Thou art truly Luther!* that is to say, truly pure. At this time Erasmus wrote him a letter ‡, in which he draws too excellent a portrait both of his enemies and his friends, not to allow the in-

* Froben's letter is dated from Bâle, on the 14th of February 1519.

† He was called Scheiner, bishop of Sion.

‡ Erasmus's letter is from Louvain, and is dated the 30th of May. It is an answer to a letter which Luther had written to him on the 28th of March 1519.

roduction

troductiō here of a copious extract; be- An. 1519.
sides, the letter is very fine in itself, and
the testimony it affords to Luther was prior
to any disputes between them.

“ I cannot express to you,” says he, “ what
“ sad events your books have caused here. Sentiments
of Erasmus
towards Lu-
ther.
“ Nothing has been able to eradicate from
“ the mind of these people,” (he speaks of
the monks,) “ the suspicion that I have an
“ interest in your writings; that I aid you in
“ composing them; and that I am, as it were,
“ the chief of the faction. There are some
“ who think they have found the opportunity
“ of destroying the belles lettres, which they
“ mortally hate, as pernicious to theological
“ sublimity, on which they place an incom-
“ parably greater value than on Jesus Christ.
“ They imagine also they can destroy me
“ along with them. All is clamour, effron-
“ tery, artifice, slander, calumny; so that if I
“ had not seen every thing with my own
“ eyes, and had not felt these attacks, I never
“ could have been able to persuade myself,
“ that divines were capable of so much vio-
“ lence.” *And in the sequel:* “ I have cautioned
“ these gentry not to declaim against you in so
“ malicious a manner, especially before the
“ people, and without having read your books.

An. 1519. “ I have represented to them, that the judgment of divines ought to be pronounced with so much the greater circumspection and equity, as it was of the greater importance; and that they had to do, besides, with a man, whose conduct met with universal approbation. But I gained nothing; and they continue unceasingly to abuse you.”

Erasmus qualifies this in what follows: “ They begin, however,” says he, “ to soften in your favour; perhaps, because they dread the pen of the learned, and, doubtless also, because they are intimidated by their own conscience. And, assuredly, I should paint them as they deserve, if the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ did not withhold me. Wild beasts are rendered gentle by kindness; these men only become the more ferocious by it. You have in England people who esteem your works, and these are persons of the highest rank. There are some even here whose affection you have gained, and among those, a man of great merit. As for myself I endeavour to remain neuter, in order to be more useful to the belles lettres, which are again flourishing; and it seems to me also, that people succeed better by a prudent moderation,

“ration, than by too much vehemence.” *An. 1519.*

He concludes thus: “There is a prior in the
 “monastery of Antwerp, who was formerly
 “one of your disciples: he is a true chris-
 “tian, and a man who loves you with a
 “great affection: he is almost the only one
 “here who preaches Jesus Christ. The others
 “preach only human fables, or their own in-
 “terest. I have begun to read your com-
 “mentary on the Psalms; it pleases me
 “much, and I hope it will be of great
 “use.”

We have brought forward this letter of Erasmus, less to do honour to Luther than to inform the reader, what was the character of the university of Louvain which censured his writings; and to draw down upon his adversaries those injurious prejudices with which they yet amuse the people in order to divert them from the examination of the truth. Almost all the learned and good men favoured the reformation, the necessity of which they knew; and on the side of those who opposed it, scarce any thing was to be seen, but interest, ignorance, and vice. Erasmus, moreover, had written to the elector, that the conduct of Luther was universally esteemed, and his books eagerly read: a testimony, which

The same
 Erasmus
 writes to the
 elector of
 Saxony re-
 specting
 Luther.

An. 1519. which not a little contributed to determine that prince to protect him.

The cordeliers write against Luther, who answers them in a menacing tone.

While this teacher became every day more celebrated, the cordeliers undertook to defame him. They were interested in the matter of indulgences, and their brother Samson, who had preached them in Switzerland, had been recalled for excesses similar to those of the collectors of Germany. Besides, their general, Christopher de Forlivio, had had the direction of indulgences in twenty-five provinces. These cordeliers being assembled in a chapter at Jutterbock, a little town in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, were desirous of signalizing their zeal by condemning fifteen propositions which they had extracted from Luther's books. He refuted them*; but it was with menaces that if they did not retract he would treat them so roughly, them and their order, that they should repent having attacked him. Eckius undertook the defence of the cordeliers; and Luther replied in an apology which was afterwards published.

The dispute grows warm between Eckius and Luther.

It was then that the dispute began to grow warm between these two doctors. Eckius

* Luther's answer to the cordeliers is dated on *Jubilate* Sunday, which is about the middle of April.

published

published thirteen propositions contrary to the doctrine of Luther, and Luther opposed him with thirteen others. The last which related to the authority of the pope was the most important. Eckius maintained in his, that the authority of the pope over all the churches is of divine right. Luther, on the contrary, asserted that this authority is upheld only by the decrees of the popes themselves, to which he could oppose the scripture, historical accounts approved for eleven centuries, and the canons of the first council of Nice.

An. 1519.

The court of Saxony alarmed at this thesis made Spalatinus write to him concerning it. He replied; but the court not being satisfied with his reasons, he wrote again to Spalatinus, “ that there was no occasion for
 “ so much alarm about his proposition; that
 “ after all the dangers he had run, he could
 “ have no doubt of the protection of God;
 “ that the chancellor of Pomerania had heard
 “ from Rome that the court had been so
 “ troubled with the explanation of his first
 “ theses against Tetzel, and with his reply
 “ to the dialogue of Prierias, that it had had
 “ recourse to the arms of Italy, that is to say,
 “ to

The court of Saxony is not pleased with one of Luther's theses.

AN. 1519. “to poisoners and assassins, to put him to
 “death; that if he were not withheld by
 “respect for the elector and for the univer-
 “sity of Wittemberg, he would unbo-
 “somed himself against Rome, or rather against
 “that Babylon which equally exercised its
 “violence against the scripture; and that, in-
 “fine, it was necessary to give up the one or
 “the other; that if God were the author of
 “his enterprize, he would take care to defend
 “it. I have always protested to you,” adds
 he at the conclusion, “that I was ready to
 “withdraw myself as soon as I could no
 “longer remain here, without involving our
 “prince in the misfortunes which threaten
 “me; for as to myself I cannot avoid death,
 “although in my apology*, which is just
 “published, I sufficiently flatter the Roman
 “church and its pontiff, if, however, that
 “could be of any service.”

* This apology is a work which Luther composed in Germany, and which he retracted afterwards (as he did many others) in the Latin preface to his works, printed in 1545. The foundation of this work is the offence which was taken at his writings. He appears to have composed it with the view of favouring the reconciliation which Miltitz was negotiating.

Meantime,

Meantime, in order to give some satisfaction to the court*, he composed an explanation of his thirteenth thesis. The work was not made public until some time had elapsed, and after the disputation of Leipsick. He first excuses the vehemence of his writings, and alleges, as the cause of it, the pride and malignity of his adversaries. Entering then upon the point, he accedes to the superiority of the pope over all the churches; but he allows no other foundation for it than the consent of the people, which, nevertheless, does not render the authority less just, or even less inviolable, because St. Paul directs that obedience be paid to the powers even when they abuse their authority. With regard to the proofs drawn from scripture in favour of the authority of the pope, he rejects them, and shews that the promises made to St. Peter were made to all the apostles, as the ancient fathers have said; that if the Roman church chose to appropriate to itself all that Jesus Christ has said to St. Peter, it ought also to apply to itself those terrible words:

An. 1519.

Luther
prints an ex-
planation of
his thesis.

* This writing was composed in the month of May, as appears by a letter to Lang, dated on the second holiday after *Evauli* Sunday, which is about the beginning of May.

“ Get

AN. 1519. “Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an
 “offence unto me; for thou favourest not
 “the things that are of God, but those that
 “are of men” And after having recited a
 great number of arguments drawn from the
 ancient fathers, he dwelt much upon that
 which he draws from the council of Nice, and
 which he terms invincible. This argument
 is to be found in the sixth canon*, which
 was forged afterwards by the legates of Zosi-
 mus at the council of Carthage, and by those
 of Leo † at the council of Chalcedon. This
 canon

* Zosimus sent legates to the sixth council of Car-
 thage to support the appeals of the Africans to the see
 of Rome. Faustini, the pope’s legate, alleged in de-
 fence of them a canon of the council of Nice. This
 was a fraud, which was evidently proved by the bi-
 shops of Africa. They sent express to Constantinople,
 in order to obtain an authentic copy of the canons of
 the council of Nice, and the pretended article was not
 to be found in it. The canon cited by Faustini was of
 the council of Sardis, held in the year 347, which was
 not an œcumenical council. Besides it is a very ob-
 scure confused canon, and does not give to the pope the
 power Faustini pretends to attribute to him.

† The œcumenical council of Chalcedon gave, by its
 last canon, the same privileges to the bishop of Con-
 stantinople, which the first bishop of Rome possessed;
 and it founded its decrees upon this ground that the
 prerogatives of the bishop of Rome arose from the
 dignity of the city; so that, in course, Constantinople
 having

canon establishes the preeminence of the An. 1519.
 bishop of Rome upon custom, and gives to
 the patriarch of Alexandria, over the churches
 of Egypt, a power equal to that of the church
 of Rome over the churches of which Rome
 is the metropolitan. He adds the decree of
 the council of Carthage, cited by Gratian,
 which declares, “ that the bishop of the
 “ former see should be no longer called
 “ prince of the priests, or sovereign pontiff;
 “ that no similar title should be given him,
 “ but only that of bishop of the former see;
 “ and that the pontiff of Rome himself should
 “ no longer be called the œcumenical bi-
 “ shop.” He did not forget likewise the
 letters of Pelagius and Gregory, wherein
 those popes condemn the title of *universal*
bishop, as a title of pride injurious to the
 other patriarchs. Finally, it must be re-
 marked that Luther at that time distinguished
 the Roman church from the court of Rome,

having become the new Rome and the seat of Empire,
 the bishop of this latter city ought to be equal to the
 bishop of the former. Paschalini, legate of pope Leo,
 opposed it, and endeavoured to maintain his opposition
 by the sixth canon of the council of Nice; but he was
 convinced of the forgery by the originals, or authen-
 tic copies of that council, which were produced to
 him.

as

An. 1519. as the princes had done at the diet of Augs-
burg in 1518. He gives to the former the
titles of which the popes are so proud, but he
leaves it that of *mistress of the world* only for
the purpose of correcting the vices thereof,
not for that of possessing its riches. It was
this point of the preeminence and authority
of the popes which was agitated with the
greatest warmth in the famous disputation of
Leipsick, the history of which it is necessary
to relate.

History of
the public
disputation
between Ec-
kius on one
side, and
Carlostadius
and Luther
on the other.

Andrew Rodenstein, surnamed Carlostadius from the place of his birth, was professor of divinity at Wittemberg, and canon and archdeacon of the collegiate church of All Saints. He had entered into the dispute between Luther and Eckius; and the latter, who saw Luther at Augsberg, proposed to him a public disputation with Carlostadius, and took upon himself the care of finding the place and appointing the time. But in order to incite him to it, he published the theses of which mention has been made, and wrote to Luther *, that he was desirous also of disputing with him. Carlostadius reduced his opinion to certain conclusions which it behoved him

* Eckius's letter is from Ingolstadt, dated 29th February.

to support; and Eckius intreated the university of Leipſick to permit that the ſcene of action ſhould be in their city. The university reſuſed it; but George duke of Saxony and the ſenate allowed it. An. 1519.

Adolphus, prince of Anhalt, biſhop of Merſburg, in the dioceſe of which Leipſick was, oppoſed the permiſſion which the duke and ſenate had given, and forbade the diſputation. But the duke wrote him a very ſtrong letter upon that occaſion, in which he repreſented, that it was neceſſary the people ſhould know whether indulgences did deliver ſouls from purgatory or not; that the pope and cardinals ought by no means to be offended that the laity inſtruct themſelves in the doctrine of ſalvation; that divines ought to defend the truth, or renounce their privileges and their revenues; that the biſhop protected the collectors too much; that if they did not appear at the appointed time all the world would judge that they were only deceivers, and that he himſelf would declare, by a public edict, their ignorance and their impoſture. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances the biſhop affixed an ordinance upon the doors of the church, on the 17th of June, by which he forbade the diſputation under

The biſhop of the place oppoſes the diſputation; but the duke orders it.

An. 1519. pain of excommunication. But the senate had this prohibition torn down by order of the duke, and imprisoned the person who had fixed it up.

Conditions
are agreed
on.

The doctors repaired to Leipſick on the 8th of June *. Thoſe of Wittemberg were accompanied by Barnimus, duke of Pomerania, who was then ſtudying in their univerſity, of which he was honorary duke. A great number of ſtudents followed; and it was remarked that they were armed, which ought not to have raiſed any ſurpriſe as they were travellers. Two days paſſed in regulating the preliminaries. Carloſtadius required ſecretaries, and was deſirous that the proceedings ſhould be printed, and that the deciſions thereon ſhould be left to the public. Eckius did not find his advantage in theſe conditions. He ſaid that the tardineſs of ſecretaries would render the diſputation tedious. Carloſtadius replied that it would be the more exact. Eckius, at laſt, gave up this point, in order to gain another of more

* The Chronicle of Leipſick remarks with aſtoniſhment that of three biſhops and eleven abbots, who were in the dominions of duke George, not one of them aſſiſted at the diſputation. However the MSS. of the library of St. Paul mention that three of thoſe abbots were preſent.

importance.

importance. He was desirous that the proceedings should be secret; and that they should submit themselves to the judgment of some university. This was assuring himself of victory. All the schools were Semi-pelagians, and none of them were hardy enough to pronounce in favour of Carlostadius and Luther, declared heretics, or suspected of heresy. This article was nevertheless conceded to him. Secretaries were chosen on one part and on the other; John Polyander, who was named by Eckius, adopted, by some capricious alteration, the side of Luther, and John Agricola of Isleben, named by Luther, became in consequence one of his enemies.

The disputation commenced* the 18th of June, in a hall of the castle. Peter Schade, furnamed Mosellan†, because he was of a

Excellent instruction from a young professor before the disputation.

* All say the 27th of June; and Melanchthon himself, who was present at the disputation, says so in a letter to one of his friends.

† Mosellan was a young man of great promise in point of knowledge in the belles lettres. He unfortunately died, being drowned in 1524, on the 17th of March, at about thirty one years of age. His tomb is to be seen at Leipstick in the church of St. Nicholas, with an honourable epitaph composed by Julius Phlug, who was afterwards bishop of Naumburg.

AN. 1519. village upon the Moselle, was professor of Greek, although he was then but twenty-six years of age, and was the person who opened the disputation by a very eloquent discourse, in which he exhorted the disputants to treat religious subjects with the respect and candour they deserved. He represented to them that in such a contest, where victory is not the effect of the powers of man, there is neither glory in conquering, nor shame in being conquered, because the victor can only communicate knowledge for which he is indebted to God; and that the vanquished party was liberated from error, into which human weakness betrays mankind; that Plato extolled Socrates for choosing rather to be conquered than to conquer in dispute; and that it would ill become christians to have less wisdom and humility than a pagan, and to esteem it a disgrace to learn from others the truth of which they themselves were ignorant. Cæsar Phlugius* pronounced another discourse upon the same subject. The hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost was sung; and the theologians promised to re-

* He is denominated *Equus auratus*.

strain themselves within the bounds of moderation. An. 1519.

Carlostadius and Eckius began the dispute. They were opposite in every thing. In Carlostadius were remarked the gravity and modesty of a divine who disputes for truth and not for glory. He advanced nothing without producing his authors, and did not even admit the quotations made by his adversary, until he had first compared them accurately with the originals. This exactness procured him the esteem of the learned; but others imputed it to the dullness of his understanding.

Carlostadius
and Eckius
dispute upon
free-will.

The deportment of Eckius was extremely different *. His clamours, his proud looks, his

* Zuinglius has given the character of Eckius. In order that it may not be thought that our authors impose on us in this point, I shall here introduce the portrait which I. F. Pic gives of the doctors, who were the schoolmen of his time. De Stud Div. et Hum. Phil. lib. i. cap. v. p. 13. Quo vitii genere namely that of calumniating their adversaries), satagunt captare favorem ignari vulgi, cujus adeo corruptum judicium, ut eum, qui ad stentoris invidiam (as another stentor) vociferat, exquisitiores calumnias jactat, doctiorem credat. Qua re fit, ut multi, dum parare sibi, aut excogitare argumenta deberent, enixè quærunt histrionum gesticationes, moresque adversariorum vilipendendi formas, ut adstantibus imperitis risum excu-

An. 1519. his haughty gait, bespoke much more the foldier than the man of letters. His action in speaking resembled that of the theatre, and it might have been imagined that a Gorgias was heard, so much vanity did this man display, and praise himself with so much effrontery. He lost by this, in the opinion of judicious people, much of the esteem his reputation had acquired. In fine, he had a happy memory; he spoke with ease, and he was well versed in the art of the sophists. The duke George was present, in the beginning, at the disputation; but care was taken to seduce him from it afterwards, in order to persuade him the more easily to give credit to the calumnies they were about to invent against Luther.

Carlostadius supports the absolute insufficiency of man.

Carlostadius defended the doctrine of grace against the powers of free-will, and maintained that nature, in its present depraved state, had, of itself, neither the power to do good, nor of fitting itself to receive grace, or to deserve it by that disposition which the

tiat, eique, qui contra aut opposuerat, aut reprehenderat, pudorem, si naturæ mitis; si rigidæ et estroenæ, furorem et insaniam. We see by the above passage, that this was a vice common to all the schoolmen of that age.

schools

schools have termed *merit of congruity*. This An. 1519. was the subject of the dispute; and every one waited to see either the strength or the weakness of the will in the conversion of man completely developed. But instead of that, the disputants, led away by the spirit of controversy, were disposed to enter into thorny and ambiguous questions, susceptible of all the artifices and subtilty of the sophists.

The proposition of Carlostadius * was, Eckius supports the contrary. *That all good works are entirely the effect of the grace of God.* Eckius did not dare to deny the proposition; but he made use of a distinction which passed for a subtil one with those of his own party, and for a mere sophism with the others. This distinction † is: *That every good work proceeds from God, but not absolutely.* He alleged, in defence of his distinction, that the soul of man is whole and entire in the hand, but that it is not totally there, because it is also in the other parts of the body; that in like manner, the blessed see the whole essence of God, but that they do not see it totally, because it exists elsewhere than in heaven. It was scarcely possible to

Omne bonum opus totum esse a Deo.

† Omne opus bonum esse a Deo, sed non totaliter.

O 4 produce

An. 1519. produce any thing less to the purpose, or more foreign from the question; because the point was to ascertain whether free-will were the partial cause of good works, by concurring with grace. This is what Carlostadius denied, and what Eckius was bound to prove; and certainly there was nothing less suited to clear up the point, than these comparisons between the soul and the essence of God.

Opinion of
Carlostadius.

Carlostadius, in order to take away all co-operation of free-will with grace in good works, advanced in the dispute, that the will of unregenerated man is *purely* passive with respect to the grace of God, which operates in it, and by it, all the good that is in man. He did not pretend that the will of man was destitute of action at the time when God converted it, because it is not converted without willing it. He acknowledged in the soul the natural power of acting and willing, which has not been taken from it by sin; but he asserted that the moral power of doing good proceeds wholly and entirely from grace; that the soul does no more than receive it, and that in this respect it is *purely passive*, although, after having received that power from God, it exercises it under the direction and with the continual assistance of grace, by the performance

performance of good works. Thus the opi- An. 1519.
 nion of Carlostadius resolves itself into that
 which St. Augustin declares in these words:
 “ It is certain that it is ourselves who will,
 “ but it is God who causes us to will, by
 “ working *the will* in us. It is also certain
 “ that it is ourselves who act, but it is God
 “ who causes us to act by furnishing the will
 “ with powers the most efficacious*.” On
 this subject he cited many passages of St.
 Augustin and the other fathers, and laid great
 stress upon that of St. Paul, “ It is God who
 “ works in us to will and to do †.”

Eckius, on the contrary, maintained that Opinion of
Eckius.
 grace only excites the will, which, by a free
 consent it either gives or refuses, independent
 of that very grace, renders it effectual or in-
 effectual to the **conversion** of man. After
 many disputes on these abstract points, Ec-
 kius, either pressed by the reasons of Carlo-
 stadius, or acting through artifice, fell upon
 an expedient which gave him the victory in
 the opinion of those of his party. He adopt-
 ed the sentiments of Carlostadius, and ex-
 claimed, with a triumphant air, that he had

* De Gratia et Lib. Arb. cap. xvi.

† Philip. ii. 13.

brought

An. 1519. brought him into his own; adding, that all the schoolmen had taught nothing but what he then asserted. The artifice was gross; but as what he had advanced of the schoolmen was too rash to be supported, he abandoned Scotus and Capreolus with their followers, quoting some other schoolmen, as William bishop of Auxerre, &c. It was, however, a matter of high triumph for Carlostadius to have compelled his adversary to give up the greatest masters of the school; almost all the moderns, except Gregory d'Arimini, professor at Paris, having embraced Semi-pelagianism. Eckius, it is true, denied afterwards that he had made this concession; but Luther asserted it to his face in the disputation of the 6th of July. He could not deny his having acknowledged to Carlostadius, that free-will without grace can only do evil. But he supposed he could extricate himself from the difficulty, by this trifling evasion, that he had termed that *evil* which is not meritorious, or which is indifferent, or which, in short, is good only because it possesses *merit of congruity*.

Superiority
of Carlostadius
over
Eckius.

Eckius had the advantage over Carlostadius in fluency of expression, and Carlostadius over Eckius in candour and solidity.

As

As long as he could make use of his books, AN. 1519. he convicted Eckius of untrue and rash assertions; but when he was obliged to quit them by the clamours of the assembly, and the importunity of Eckius, he lost much of his advantage. He had a defective memory, which was attributed to the too frequent and too copious bleedings he had undergone; by which means Eckius, whose memory was very good, disputed at that time in a more specious and dazzling manner. But as to his propositions, Luther affirmed with an oath that they remained in their full force; Melancthon, Mosellan, and others, bore witness to the same; since which Eckius and he wrote one against the other with all the vehemence imaginable. It appeared, by their writings, that Carlostadius denied the concurrence of free-will with grace; that he rejected in this sense the expression of St. Bernard, who calls man, *socium Dei*, in the act of conversion; and that he only admitted what St. Jerome says, “it is ours to pray, “it is ours to begin,” by supposing that these prayers and these beginnings are themselves the effects of grace. The opinion of Eckius was, on the contrary, that grace precedes and excites free-will; that with respect

to

An. 1519. to this first grace, free-will is purely passive; but that the consent which it gives to grace is partly the effect of this very grace, and partly that of the powers of free will; that it is in consideration of this consent of free-will that God dispenses justifying grace, with regard to which the will is still purely passive; a doctrine which has, in the Roman church, those who approve, and those who censure it. What may be said on this matter is, that these nice distinctions in delicate and abstruse points, have ever been as unprofitable as fatal to the peace of the church; and that, in short, it is high time, that, treading under foot these useless speculations, it should be universally acknowledged, that we are indebted to God for every good, and that we ourselves are the only cause of every evil which is in us.

Eckius gives
a challenge
to Luther,
who accepts
it.

After Carlostadius and Eckius had disputed vehemently for several days, the latter, in order to merit the favours of the court of Rome by attacking its most formidable enemy, gave a challenge to Luther. The friends of the latter represented to him, that he could not, without extreme imprudence, commit himself with a man who was vanity, roguery, and dissimulation itself; that he ought to
know

know him by the epistles of Erasmus and An. 1519. Zazius, who had drawn his character, although he were not sufficiently known by the disputation of which he had just been a witness. They added, that Eckius sought only to ruin him, and that he would infallibly accomplish it by engaging him to advance propositions which, however true, ought to be suppressed under the circumstances in which he stood; that the whole of the auditory was against him; that he was going to give up his cause to his opponents; and that he might make an honourable retreat by alleging that he had not a safe-conduct. In fine, they pressed him with the authority of the court, which dreaded the consequence of this dispute. Luther was convinced of the solidity of these reasons, but he could not resolve to leave to Eckius the glory of having defied him; and the duke having granted the safe-conduct of which he stood in need, he accepted the disputation. The universities of Paris and Erford were to be the judges; but neither the one nor the other, some persons excepted, could agree upon the matter, and the decision of the difference was referred to the duke. This contest was, however, ineffectual. The universities did not pronounce

An. 1519. nounce any judgment. That of Erford remained silent; and the university of Paris, which published its censure in 1521, inflicted it upon extracts from the books of Luther, and not upon the disputation of Leipfick. Those who have said the contrary are deceived*.

During the settlement of these preliminaries Eckius wrote a letter to his brethren of Ingolstadt†, a copy of which was obtained, and published, out of wagery by his adversaries. It is replete with such praises as a braggard would bestow on himself; and Eckius is not ashamed to assert that he was the admiration of all his hearers. He had even the impudence to relate what had given him the greatest advantage; although he thereby let it be seen how ill fitted he was to observe the vow of continence. He added in the margin, “I have
“ played Luther a trick, which I will tell you
“ tête a tête.” The letter was printed for the purpose of exposing to all the world the artifice, the vanity, and the corruption of this man.

* Maimbourg is deceived in this respect.

† This letter was written to George Haven, and to Francis Burcard, professor in the university of Ingolstadt. It is dated 1st July.

The

The disputation did not commence until the 4th of July, and turned upon the thirteen propositions already mentioned. The principal part of the dispute concerned the last of them, namely, whether the authority of the pope over all the churches is of divine right or not. This was agitated during the first days. It was by the trial of this question that Eckius hoped to make his own fortune, and to ruin Luther. He alleged first, that the church not being able to exist without a head, the authority of the pope was of divine right, God having instituted every thing which is essential to the preservation of the church. But Luther answered, that Jesus Christ was the head of the church, and that it ought to have no other. Eckius produced the passage of the 16th of St. Matthew: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Luther maintained that this rock, which is the foundation of the church, was Jesus Christ, which St. Peter had confessed. He alleged the words of St. Paul: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which has been laid, namely, Jesus Christ *;" and those of St. Peter, who calls Jesus Christ

An. 1519.

Dispute between Eckius and Luther.

* 1 Cor. iii. 11.

" the

AN. 1519. “the living and corner stone*.” And as Eckius had advanced that St. Augustine explained the passage in question of St. Peter himself, and that he had never retracted, Luther remarked that he had said in his recantations, “that St. Peter was not the rock, “but that he had acknowledged the rock;” and that, in one of his homilies, he had expressly excluded the sense that Eckius put on it, by saying, “it is upon the rock, not upon “thee, but upon the rock which thou hast “acknowledged.” He laid great stress upon the absurdities which would follow, if it were said that St. Peter is the foundation of the church, and made it appear that what Jesus Christ had said, at times, to this apostle, he had said to all his fellow apostles: that, for example, Jesus Christ had said to St. Peter, “I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;” although the other disciples had received them as well as he.

They proceeded to the passage of St. John, ‘Feed my sheep.’ Luther, upon this occasion, gave an excellent lesson to the ecclesiastics, and censured, with great freedom, the tyranny of pastors: replying then

* 1 Peter ii. 4, 6.

to the argument, he shewed that Jesus An. 1519. Christ had given the same authority to all the apostles; that he had said equally to them all, “Receive ye the Holy * Ghost; “teach all nations †; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ‡;” by which it is evident that all the apostles were pastors of the church as well as St. Peter, since that office consisted in teaching the word of God, and in remitting the sins of the penitent.

Eckius did not fail to reproach Luther with the heresy of the Bohemians §, because among Wickliffe’s articles this had been condemned, that “it is not necessary to salvation “to believe that the Roman church is the “sovereign of all the churches;” and among those of John Hus, “that St. Peter was not the head of the universal church.” Luther,

* John xx. 22.

† Matt. xxviii. 19.

‡ John xx. 23.

§ Id ipsum (quod esset fautor Bohemorum) tanquam gravem calumniam a se rejiciens Luther, nunquam mihi, inquit, placuit, nec in æternum placebit, quodcunque schisma inique faciam, quod se autoritate propria separant a nostra unitate, etiamsi jus divinum pro iis staret. This is carrying aversion from schism to a great extent. Apud Hosp. Hist. sacram. p. 5.

P

who

An. 1519. who perceived the artifice and malice of his adversary, contented himself with answering, that he did not countenance these schismatics; but that it must be confessed, that among the articles framed by Wickliffe, and by John Hus, there were some extremely evangelical, and that without examining whether this, “it is not necessary to salvation “to believe the superiority of the Roman “church over all the churches,” be the doctrine of Wickliffe and John Hus or not, yet the contrary could not be maintained without condemning Gregory of Nazianzum, St. Basil, St. Epiphanius, St. Cyprian, and all the Greek bishops, who had never acknowledged this authority in the bishop of Rome, and who had never required from him the confirmation of episcopal dignity; that it was certain there was no church at Rome until about eighteen or twenty years after the ascension of Jesus Christ; and that it followed that the universal church would have been without a head during the whole of that time, if the Roman church were the head of the universal church.

Eckius made the most of this, like a man who knew how to avail himself of every advantage. He exaggerated the injury which
Luther

Luther had done to the council of Constance, An. 1519. in calling those articles evangelical which that council had condemned. But Luther avoided the blow by saying, that it was better to believe that the acts of the council had been altered, than to suppose that it had condemned articles taken almost word for word from scripture and from St. Augustine.

Luther insisted on the equality of the apostles. Eckius agreed to it; but while he allowed they were equal in point of apostleship, he denied it in point of episcopacy, pretending that they had received from Jesus Christ the charge of apostles, but that the office of bishop had been conferred on them by St. Peter who had ordained them. The idea was ridiculous. Luther opposed to it the passage from the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, where St. Paul says, that he was in nothing inferior to the apostles who were in the greatest esteem, among whom he names Peter, and that those who ranked the highest had taught him nothing new; whence Luther concluded that St. Paul had received neither apostleship nor episcopacy from St. Peter. To this he added the decree which forbids any one to call the

An. 1519. bishop of Rome an œcumenical bishop, whereupon Eckius betook himself to the evasion that the decree certainly forbade calling the bishop of Rome the universal bishop, but that it did not forbid calling him bishop of the universal church.

They proceed to other points.

From this question they passed to those of purgatory, indulgences, repentance, and the power of absolving penitents. Upon the subject of purgatory, Luther protested that he believed it*; that it even appeared to him that Jesus Christ had made mention of it in speaking of the sin which should not be forgiven either in this life or in that which is to come; that he admitted the passage of the Maccabees†, where praise is given for the offering and prayers for the dead; but he confessed at the same time, that these two passages were not conclusive; that the former was perhaps, only a manner of speaking which merely signified that the sin against the Holy Ghost should never be forgiven, that it should be punished both in this world and

* Ego, qui credo fortiter, imo ausim dicere, scio, purgatorium esse, facile persuadeor in scripturis de eo fieri mentionem. Hosp. ubi sup.

† 2 Maccab. xii. 45.

in the world to come; that the latter being An. 1519.
 taken from a book which was not in the canon
 might persuade minds easy of belief, but ap-
 peared insufficient to convince others; and
 that in fine it will not be sufficient to autho-
 rize this book, that the church has received
 it, because the church can very well declare
 a book to be canonical when it is such, but
 cannot make it canonical when in reality it
 is not so. Eckius next quoted the passage
 of 1 Corinthians, iii. 15. "If any man's
 work be burnt, he shall be saved, as
 "to himself, yet so as by fire*," and added
 some explanation from the fathers. Luther,
 without rejecting the meaning of purgatory,
 maintained that it was, nevertheless, more
 natural to understand this fire as signifying
 that of the last judgment, or that of per-
 secution. It was remarked however, upon
 the whole, that the two disputants wandered
 from the point, because the question then was

* Si l'œuvre de quelqu'un brûle, il sera sauvé, quant
 à lui, toutefois ainsi que par le feu.

The above is the quotation as given by M. de Beau-
 fobre, from which I do not think myself at liberty to
 depart, although it appears that the words answering
 to the expression in our scriptures, "he shall suffer
 loss," (*ζημιωθησεται*) are omitted. M.

An. 1519. not to know whether purgatory had any foundation in scripture, but whether the pope possessed the power of delivering souls out of it by his indulgences.

They came to the question of indulgences on the 11th of July. Eckius attacked this proposition of Luther: "Indulgences being
 "the abolition of good works, there is folly
 "in maintaining that they are an advantage
 "to the church." But he combated it only by the authority of the church and of the popes, who being infallible could never have introduced a custom pernicious to the church. Luther declared that he did not believe indulgences to be pernicious in themselves; that he was besides persuaded of the infallibility of the church in matters of faith; but that indulgences were not matters of faith, and that after all he had only condemned the abuse of them; that his proposition was indisputable, since the works of repentance being good works, it could never be said that it was an advantage to the church to dispense with them from believers. Luther and Eckius remained nearly of the same opinion upon this article. The latter maintained that indulgences ought not to be despised, but that

that neither were they to be confided in; An. 1519.
 and Luther declared, that if they had
 been always treated of by others in the same
 manner as by Eckius, he should have pre-
 served a continual silence. Finally, indul-
 gences were openly derided by both parties;
 and all agreed that it was saying much in
 their favour, to call them pious frauds.

On the 12th of the same month they dis-
 coursed upon repentance. Luther maintain-
 ed that in order to be sincere and pleasing to
 God, it must have the love of God for its
 principle. Eckius, on the contrary, asserted
 that repentance was not the less conformable
 to the divine law, although its principle were
 only the fear of punishment. On this head
 he quoted several passages from scripture and
 the fathers. But Luther replied, that fear
 might certainly put a stop to bad exterior
 actions, and enforce the practice of good
 ones of the same kind, but that true repen-
 tance consisted in something more, namely,
 in a change of the heart and affections, in a
 hatred of vice, in a love of virtue, and,
 above all, in the love of God, which is the
 most perfect of all virtues, and which even
 renders the others pleasing to God.

An. 1519.

On the 13th they discussed the question of absolution and atonement. Eckius wished to prove that God, by pardoning sin, did not give up the infliction of punishment, and quoted the example of Adam, whose sin was pardoned, but whose posterity continued to bear the punishment of it; and that of David whom God forgave for the pride that led him to number the people, but punished it in the person of his people. Luther replied that these examples were the confirmation of his position; that he had said that God sometimes changed eternal into temporal punishments; but that no man had power to impose or remit such chastisements; that he was persuaded the pope and the priests had the power of dispensing with punishments which they themselves have imposed on sinners; but that with respect to those which God inflicts, they could neither be abolished nor lessened by any authority upon earth. Hence followed that grievous consequence to the pope, that he had no jurisdiction over purgatory, the punishments of which were prescribed by the justice of God.

Upon the question of absolution, Eckius denied that *priests* had power to remit sin,
and

and the punishment of all sins indiscrimi- Ann. 1519.
 nately; but in order to support his assertion he
 alleged only the authority of bishops, reasons
 of propriety, and the edification of the
 church. Sins, said he, appear more odious
 when all ranks of the clergy are not allowed
 to give absolution of them. But Luther re-
 presented that the reservation of this power
 to bishops, was far from rendering crimes
 more hideous, since all the world knew that
 the most enormous sins were regarded at the
 courts of bishops as trivial offences, and
 that they were not punished there with the
 same rigour as was exercised in a parish;
 that, finally, it was a decree of the council of
 Nice, that repentance was to be prescribed
 and practised wherever sin was committed;
 and that, in short, according to St. Paul,
 there was no difference between priest and
 bishop.

Carlostadius and Eckius resumed their dis-
 pute for the space of two days, and it still
 turned upon the subjects of free-will and
 grace. When it was concluded, John Lang,
 professor at Leipſick, pronounced an oration
 in which he gave great praises to Eckius;
 but he bestowed the same on Carlostadius
 and

People are
 divided
 upon the
 success of
 this disputa-
 tion.

An. 1519. and Luther. He admired in the latter a vast knowledge of theology, a mind active and penetrating, an unremitting application in the search for truth, a noble freedom in declaring it, and a life without blemish. He was of opinion, in short, that Luther was a true disciple of St. Augustine, both in doctrine and in conduct.

People were much divided upon the success of this disputation. The greater part of the divines gave the advantage to Eckius. They were of his principles in regard to the controversies which were agitated, and they testified so much anger against the doctors of Wittemberg that they had not the civility to pay them a visit, or even to salute them. Perhaps the jealousy they entertained because the university of Wittemberg caused their own to be almost deserted, contributed to it. However that may be, they were hardy and malicious enough to give out that Luther wore on his finger a magic ring, which he made use of for enchantments; and although Eckius did not venture altogether to support so ridiculous a calumny, he did not fail to insinuate it in a letter he wrote to the elector of Saxony. Meanwhile, as these divines

I

wished

wished to claim a part in the victory they An. 1519. attributed to Eckius, they spread the report that Luther defended himself so well, that he would have overcome his adversary without their assistance. Eckius, on the contrary, wrote to his friends*, that the doctors of Leipfick were good kind of people enough, but that he had expected to find more learning among them; that he had alone supported the whole attack of Luther; and that he had nothing to lay to his charge but the excess of generosity with which he gave him his answers over night, in order that he might have leisure to consider them before the sitting.

It was thought by some that Luther had surpassed Eckius in learning; but that Eckius had some advantage over him on the side of memory and expression. There did not, however, appear any thing like it in the proceedings; and Luther's speaking was at least equal to that of Eckius. The celebrated Zazius, professor of law at Fridburg, whom Erasmus called the most learned, most sincere, and most honest man in † Germany,

* In his letter to Haven and Bucard before cited.

† See the letters of Erasmus, B. iii. ep. 39. B. xii. ep. 7. B. xv. ep. 17. B. xxiii. ep. 9.

An. 1519. gave the victory to Luther and Carlostadius, although he was of opinion that the former abased too much the power of the pope. But by the report of Mosellan and Spalatinus, the exaggerations of Eckius, and his servile and interested complaisance for the pope and the court of Rome, injured him greatly, and rendered him as contemptible as the vanity and affectation which appeared in his manners and his discourses. As to Luther, he candidly acknowledged that the applauses had not been on his side of the question; but he protested that all the objections of the schoolmen relative to the powers of free-will, and to the perfection of human righteousness, were annihilated by these two principles, the one of St. Augustine, "free-will without grace cannot but sin:" the other of St. Ambrose, "the more free-will attempts to act, the nearer it approaches to sin."

This dispute
injures both
the pope
and Luther.

It is very certain, however, that this disputation was extremely injurious to Luther and to the pope. Many persons who had never doubted the authority of the bishop of Rome, began to open their eyes, upon reading the proceedings which were published;
and

and the evasions practised by Eckius were insufficient to remove their scruples. Eckius, on his part, spread abroad every where that Luther had condemned the decrees of the council of Constance, and approved the articles of Wickliffe and John Hus; and as the Bohemians were generally hated, no other proof was wanted in the world to persuade people that Luther was a heretick. An. 1519.

The disputation at Leipfick was the occasion of many works. Philip wrote an account of it to Œcolampadius: it soon fell into the hands of Eckius; and although it was written with much moderation, and he himself honourably enough treated in it, yet he was so much offended that he made a very sharp reply, in which he as much exalts his own rank as a divine, as he debases that of Philip whom he treats as a petty grammarian. He wished also to sow jealousy between Luther and Melanchthon, by opposing the learning of the former to the ignorance of the latter. But Luther, an enemy to artifice, repulsed this attempt with disdain. Philip defended his narration in a short apology, written with much moderation and judgment;

It occasioned a great number of writings.

An. 1519. Judgment; but he let his adversary see, that, although he were not a doctor by title, he was scarcely less skilled in divinity than in polite literature.

On the other side, Eckius had the assurance to write to the elector of Saxony a letter * very injurious to Luther, and wished to persuade that prince to have his books burnt. This would have been to raise his own glory to the highest pitch, and to assure his triumph. Frederick made a prudent and becoming reply, suited to moderate the fury of a violent controversialist; but at the same time he sent Eckius's letter to Luther and Carlostadius, who did not fail to answer it as it deserved †. Eckius replied, and forgot nothing that could vilify the person and doctrine of Luther. It was a very malicious writing, and contained in a short compass all that has been said of the most satirical and specious kind against the protestants. It was soon answered by an apology, the style of which appeared to be that of Melancthon. But of all the works which were pub-

* The letter is dated 23d of July.

† The answer is dated 18th of August.

lished at this time, that which mortified An. 1519.
 Eckius the most was a satire, tolerably well
 written, of which Œcolampadius was the
 author. It is in the form of a letter in
 the name of the ignorant Lutheran canons.
 He is artfully reproached with his vanity, his
 violence, his dissimulation, his fraud; and,
 above all, with the unfortunate lot of his
 writings, which fell into oblivion as soon as
 they had seen the light, while those of Lu-
 ther were read and fought after by all the
 world.

There appeared soon afterwards a very
 important work. Luther, unable to publish
 the proceedings of the disputation because it
 had been agreed on that they should remain
 secret*, published an explanation† of the
 theses which had been the subject of it, to
 which there is prefixed an abridgment of the
 history of this disputation. He there dis-
 cusses the questions of the infallibility of

Luther pub-
 lishes a
 work in
 which he
 explains his
 opinions.

* From this it may be inferred that the proceedings
 which were published, and which produced such an
 alteration in the opinions of those who read them, (See
 page 220) were unauthorized by Luther, in which case
 there is the stronger reason to presume that no par-
 tiality was shewn him in them, and that the effect pro-
 duced was the natural consequence of the force of
 truth. M.

† Resolutiones supra Propos. Lips. Disput.

councils,

An. 1519. councils, the authority of the church, and justification by faith; upon the last of which articles, finding himself embarrassed with the passage of St. James ii. 24. which says "that man is not justified by faith only, but also by works," he ventured to advance this hasty conjecture, "that the style of the epistle of St. James is far below the apostolic majesty, and that it cannot be compared to that of St. Paul." He was reduced to this extremity because he could not reconcile St. Paul with St. James: but he ought to have considered that he was not obliged to cut the knot which he could not untie. He recovered afterwards from this error. It will not be amiss to explain here the sentiments of Luther upon justification, and the advantages he drew from that opinion, in order to overturn the superstitions of Rome.

Luther's
opinion
upon justifi-
cation by
faith.

It must first be remarked that Luther did not take the word *justify* in the legal acceptation, simply signifying *to declare just* or to absolve. He understood it in the scholastic sense, as signifying *to render just*, or to form the habit of christian virtues in the soul. He taught, therefore, that man is so corrupt that free-will has, of itself, no power to produce good works; that all the works of free-will,
whatever

whatever outward appearance they may have, were not really good works, because every good work, considered as such in the judgment of God, ought to have the love of God for its principle, whereas all the works of free-will have no other than self-love; that it thence followed, that no man could be righteous by his works, that is, could not acquire the habit of righteousness prescribed by the gospel, by doing works which might appear good, but which were not so at the bottom, because they were defective on the side of principle; that it again followed that works of this kind could not be the condition of the grace which forms the habitude of evangelical righteousness in the heart, and which alone produces the love of God; because works which were not fundamentally good, having for their principle a source so vicious as self-love, could not be acceptable to God, nor become the condition of justifying grace, that is, of that grace which forms the love of God. He taught therefore, in pursuance of these principles, that the only condition of justification, that is, of the grace which forms righteousness in the soul, is faith in Jesus Christ; and he confirmed the same by all the passages from St. Paul, in which mention

Q

is

An. 1519. is made of justification by faith. As this subject, which, at that time, was but in a rough state, has been since cleared up and developed in a very different manner, it has been thought not inexpedient to give the reader this explanation of the sentiments of Luther, as necessary for the purpose of understanding his doctrine.

The opinion of Luther is exploded as incompatible with the interests of the Roman church.

I do not examine whether the opinion of Luther be well founded, but it appears harmless; and any person might be astonished at its having been condemned and exploded as heretical upon the solicitation of monks and priests, if he did not easily perceive that it was the most fatal in the world to their interests. For by pulling down the merit of works, and establishing justification by faith only, the most fruitful source of the revenues of the churches and monasteries was dried up. The good works of that time, and by far the most excellent and meritorious, were endowments, charities given to convents, or for saying masses, and other bounties of that kind, which enrich monks and ecclesiastics in general. Now, if these works were no longer of the least service to the justification of the sinner, they lost all their value, and he no more felt the wish of enriching the church,

and of seeking his salvation any where else An. 1519.
 than in faith: now faith not being to be sold
 as meritorious works were, the monks, like
 able merchants, perceived they were upon
 the point of losing all their revenues. In the
 remarks* will be seen a copious extract
 from the theses of Luther.

These were the principal writings which
 followed the disputation of Leipfick; but it
 was the source of a new quarrel with the most
 malicious and dangerous enemy which Lu-
 ther had encountered. This was Jerome
 Emser, who taught the canon law in the
 university of Leipfick. This man wrote
 into Bohemia to a doctor of the Roman
 church, that Luther held the same opinions
 with the Hussites; and this report coming to
 spread†, two doctors of that sect wrote to
 Prague, to encourage him to defend the
 truth. They sent him at the same time, the

Emser, the
 most cruel
 enemy of
 Luther.

* See Note, page 98.

† These doctors were, *Rodiolovinus*, principal of the
 college of the emperor Charles, in the city of Prague,
 and the other, *John Podiesco*, rector of the church of
 the Holy Virgin in the same city. Luther frequently
 calls Emser *Ægoceros*, or *Capricorn*, because this man,
 piquing himself upon nobility, affected to place at the
 front of his books, the arms of his house, which were
a he-goat butting with his horns.

An. 1519. treatise upon the church which John Hus had composed, and from which the articles for his condemnation had been extracted. This intercourse of letters was imprudent; and occasion was taken from it to give out that Luther kept up a close correspondence with the schismatics of Bohemia. He defended himself from this charge in a letter which he wrote against Emser, and made it appear that it is an artful method of combating the truth to say it is adopted by heretics; that none approved more of his doctrine than the learned who did not hold any intercourse with the Bohemians.

Death of
Tetzel,

The unfortunate Tetzel ended his life at this time, being carried off by the plague. It is reported, that seeing the preparations for the disputation at Leipstick, he fell into so violent a passion, that he exclaimed, "May the devil take it all!" It is pretended also that his body was carried to Pirna, his own country, and the foundation for this conjecture is, that there is to be seen in a church a picture, in which he is represented as mounted upon an ass, selling his indulgences. But in this reason there is very little weight. The picture must have been placed there, after the death of duke George, who survived Tetzel,

Tetzel, and who would never have permitted this affront to be offered him. An. 1519.

Very near about this time Leo X. gave a proof of his power, very flattering for him. This was the canonization of Francis de Paule, which I am now about to relate. Canonization of Francis de Paule.

*Francis Martolilla** was of Paula, a little town of Calabria, within a day's journey of Cosenza, the metropolis of the province. He was born about the year 1416, and attached himself in his infancy to devotional pursuits. He founded a new religious society which he named *Minims*, because he termed himself of this kind, that is to say, *very little*, surpassing thus the title of *Minors*, which the cordeliers had assumed. He expelled evil spirits, cured the most desperate diseases, restored hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, and reason to the

* This is taken from the bull of the canonization of Francis de Paule, apud Bzovium, vol. xix. p. 86, &c. an. 1597. In the bull he is named *Martolilla*. It is remarked in his life that others call his father *James Bartolilla Alexis*. See his life in Bzovius an. ub. sup. p. 58 et seq. This life was composed by *Francis Victor*, descended from Bridget, sister of Francis de Paule, printed for the first time at Rome in 1625. A number of miracles are recounted in it as performed by this saint.

An. 1519. insane, cleansed lepers, and raised the dead. It is true, that on this last article the bull is very circumspect. The pope, by no means assured of the assistance of the Holy Spirit upon this affair, contented himself with saying *, “ that he restored “ several dead persons to life, or at least some “ who passed for dead.” According to the manner, however, in which the fact is afterwards related, Francis acted very like a man who imitated Jesus Christ raising Lazarus: for the hunters having found, in the winter, a man frozen and buried in the snow, not doubting but he was dead, were going to inter him, when Francis arriving, stops them, and exclaims, “ By love, that man lives !” Then turning towards him, “ Rise †,” said he, “ and walk ;” which he did upon the spot.

From the time of Paul II. who died in 1471, Francis was famous for his miracles, which obliged this pope to send one of his chamberlains to inform himself of the truth.

* Nonnullos mortuos, vel pro mortuis habitos, ad vitam pristinamque lucem duxerit. Ibid. The author of his life does not express himself like the bull. He says very positively that he raised many dead. Lib. ii. cap. 3. ap. Bzov. p. 66.

† Exsurge et ambula. Ad ejus verba homo in sepulchrum mittendus illico surrexit, et pedetentim ambulare cœpit. p. 88.

The

The chamberlain was convinced by ocular An. 1519.
demonstration of the divine power which re-
sided in this father; for being astonished at
his austerities, and asking him how he could
support them, Francis at first made no answer,
but approaching the fire, and taking in his
hands some glowing coals without being
burnt by them, he said to the * chamberlain,
“ All the creatures obey those who serve God
“ with a perfect heart.” The reflection
ought rather to have been put into the mouth
of the witness to this miracle, than in that of
Francis, who thereby pronounced a high en-
comium on himself. This prodigy, how-
ever, of handling burning coals is nothing
compared to what took place when our
saint being employed in building the house of
his order at Paula, people came to acquaint
him that a lime-kiln was burst, either through
the violence of the flames or some other
cause. “ For love !” or “ for charity !”
(which, it seems, was his oath, or proverb,)
“ for charity † !” says he to those who brought
him the intelligence, “ go and dine, and
“ leave it to me !” They went away; and

* Qui perfecto corde Domino serviunt, omnia creata
illis obtemperant.

† Per caritatem.

An. 1519. he*, having made the sign of the cross, entered the kiln, burning as it was, and repaired it by himself, without the smallest injury. No one can deny, after these instances, but that the sanctity of Francis has been proved by the famous trial by fire. It is only to be wished that, by his intercession, the dead could obtain the same gift in purgatory. But if it be true, as the catholic historians say, that the protestants burned his body in 1562, there is reason to believe that the saint had lost this power of his at his decease.

Meantime the reputation of the father passing the Alps, Louis XI. wished to see him, in the hope of obtaining from him the cure of his disorders. He intreated Sixtus IV. who succeeded Paul II. to order him to repair to France. The king bestowed on him great honours, and had a convent built for him, in the park of Pleffis-les-Tours, where he died in 1507, on the 2d of April, being Good-Friday. His body remained eleven days without interment, and, far from corrupting, it emitted an agreeable perfume. He was already in-

* Quibus discedentibus, ipse statim signo crucis facto, intrepidè fornacem ardentem intravit, et illam solus reparavit, indeque absque læsione aliqua incolumis exivit.

voked in France, when Francis I. at the so- An. 1519.
 licitation of queen Claudia, his wife, and the
 duchefs of Angoulême, his mother, solicited
 Leo to canonize him.

Queen Claudia, wife of Francis I. says the
 bull *, had formerly made a vow before this
 father and many other persons of quality, that
 if she could obtain the favour of having a
 son, she would give him the name of Francis
 in honour of him. She was actually brought
 to bed of a very fine boy, and fulfilled her
 vow.

This story is not beyond the reach of pro-
 bability. Claudia was the daughter of Louis
 XII. She did not marry Francis count of
 Angoulême and duke of Valois until the
 14th of May 1514; but she had been affi-
 anced to him since 1506, a year before the
 death of the saint. The prince she brought
 into the world was poisoned in a cup of cold
 water by *Sebastian Montecuculli*; and died at
 the castle of Tournon on the 10th of August
 1536, without either the name or the repu-
 tation of the saint being able to save him. It
 is thus that the Minim, author of the life of
 Francis, relates the occurrence.

* Page 39. col. ii.

A.D. 1519. Leo, desirous of obliging Francis I. and
 the princess, who interested themselves in the
 canonization of the father, appointed a con-
 gregation * for the purpose of examining into
 the miracles which were necessarily to be the
 foundation of it. It was upon the report of
 these delegates, and after having begged of
 God not to permit the church to err on this
 occasion, that he publicly canonized him on
 the 1st of May 1519. “ To the honour of
 “ God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and
 “ the Holy Ghost, for the exaltation of the
 “ catholic faith, for the progress of the chris-
 “ tian religion, and for the comfort and ad-
 “ vancement of the order of Minims, under
 “ the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of
 “ the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and
 “ our own, we decree and determine, by
 “ the advice and with the consent of our
 “ brethren, the cardinals, that Francis de
 “ Paule, of blessed memory, has been re-
 “ ceived among the blessed of the heavenly
 “ Jerusalem, and is possessed of the eternal
 “ glory which has been given him, and that

* A congregation, in this sense, is a certain number
 of cardinals, appointed by the pope, and distributed by
 him into several chambers or councils, for the direction
 of certain affairs. *Furetiere. M.*

“ he

“ he ought to be placed in the rank of saints, An. 1519.
 “ as we do place him from this day; order-
 “ ing that he be hereafter worshipped in
 “ public and private, and that his festival be
 “ celebrated by the universal church on the
 “ 2d of April (the day of his death); and
 “ declaring that believers may implore his
 “ intercession, and hope for it, he being
 “ worthy that all the honours should be paid to
 “ him that are due to saints.” This decree
 having been thus pronounced, *Te Deum* was
 sung: a cardinal began the invocation of the
 new saint, and the pope addressed this prayer to
 God: “ We render to Thee, O Lord, the
 “ obedience that is due unto Thee; we pray
 “ Thee, by the intercession of the blessed
 “ Francis de Paule, to increase thy gifts upon
 “ us, and to preserve us from all evil, through
 “ Jesus Christ our Lord.” Mass was after-
 wards said with proper collects for the festival
 of Francis. This ceremony was accompa-
 nied with a plenary indulgence to all who
 assisted at it; and to render the church where
 the new saint was interred more estimable,
 the pope granted to all those who should
 assist, each year, at divine service on the day
 of his festival, four years indulgences, and as
 many lents.

No

AN. 1519. No mention is made in the legend of Francis de Paule of what is reported by Mezerai, that, according to some, he entered into a court intrigue with the confessor of king Charles VIII. (Oliver Maillard,) who, in concert with the confessor of the duchess of Bourbon, persuaded this young prince that he could not in conscience keep Roussillon; that Louis XI. had recommended, when dying, that it should be restored; and that his soul was suffering in purgatory until his will was executed. "Charles," in consequence, "gave up of his own accord the earldoms of " Roussillon and Cerdagna to Ferdinand, without drawing back even the 300,000 crowns " for which they had been pledged *."

We proceed to an event less striking but more instructive than what has been just related, namely, the quarrel that took place between Erasmus and a learned professor of Louvain, which was terminated by the retraction of the latter.

While the version that Erasmus had made of the New Testament,* the remarks which he added to it, and the works of St. Jerome of which he gave the first edition, were

Erasmus is attacked by a professor of Louvain, upon the subject of the version of the New Testament, and the edition of St. Jerome.

* Mezerai, Chronolog. abridg. of the history of France. Amst. 1696. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 375.

printing

printing at Bâle*, the divines of Louvain engaged Martin Dorpius to write against him†. Dorpius was esteemed by Erasmus; nor was there in the university a more candid and enlightened professor, or a more polished writer. He reproached Erasmus with his elegant satire entitled *Moria*, or *Folly*, in which he had turned into ridicule the pride, the rusticity, and the false subtilty of the scholastic divines. Erasmus rather excused this work than defended it; although, after all, there was nothing blameable in endeavouring to reclaim, by ingenious satires, persons who could not be brought back by remonstrances to polite learning and solid study. Haughty spirits and hypocrites cannot be better corrected than by being humbled, and delivered over to public contempt. There might, perhaps, be in that book traits too bold in regard to matters which it is not becoming to treat with raillery. The reader will be able to judge of it by the ex-

An. 1519.

* Hist. Lit. Reform. p. i. page 21 et seq.

† These divines were *John Atenfis*, (whom Erasmus called *Noxus*, in allusion to *Atenfis*, which he derived from ἀτῆ Noxa,) the carmelite *Nicholas d'Egmond*, and *Latomus*.

An. 1519. tract which it is proposed to give from this work in the remarks *.

Erasmus answers, and assigns the reasons, which cause the divines of his time to exclaim.

As to what regards the edition of St. Jerome, Erasmus informs us, that what rendered it odious to the divines of his time was, the eloquence of that father, bred up in the belles lettres; his readiness in criticism, his great knowledge of languages, and the generous attempt he had made to correct the ancient versions by the original, by which the moderns were authorized to make use of them as such. Erasmus relates on this occasion that some celebrated divines had gone to Bâle to the house of his printer †, to conjure him in the name of God to leave out in his edition all the Greek and Hebrew words to be found in St. Jerome, because these languages were very dangerous, and tended only to ostentation and curiosity. These people had not the same taste as Origen, who, at an advanced time of life, translated Hebrew with the utmost care; nor the same as St. Augustine, who lamented in his old age

* See Note, page 98.

† Per omnia sacra typographum obtestantes; ne quid græcitatæ aut hebraïsmi pateretur admisceri, ingens in eis literis esse periculum, nec quicquam esse fructus, ad solam curiositatem paratis, &c. Erasmi. *ibid.*

the

the dislike he had entertained, when young, An. 1519. to the languages. In reality it was a great misfortune for St. Augustine, that one of the finest and happiest geniuses of antiquity, having to explain the scripture, should have been destitute of an aid, which the study of all the Latin orators and philosophers could not supply. How many faults would have been escaped had he understood Greek and Hebrew, and been better acquainted with the style of the sacred writers !

But what gave most alarm to the divines of Louvain was the version of the New Testament, and the remarks which served to explain and defend it. Why, said they, make a new translation while we have the Vulgate, venerable by reason of its antiquity, and the approbation of so many councils, together with that of the Latin fathers who have quoted no other. 'To change and correct it, is to change and correct the scripture. Let the Greek be left to the Greeks, to whom it belongs, and the Latin to the Latins. To borrow the originals of the New Testament from schismatic Greeks, who have altered them, and from such originals to correct the Latin version, is to introduce into religion the errors of these persons. It is more sure,
without

An. 1519. without comparifon, to reform Greek by Latin, than Latin by Greek which has been received from the treacherous hands of hereticks. It is thus the doctors reasoned, and thus they taught Dorpius to reason.

Erasmus had no trouble in refuting fuch frivolous objections, which proceeded as much from the ignorance of the divines of his time as from their defire of preferving their credit and their power. “For, after all,” fays Erasmus, “it is not for faith they entertain apprehenfions *; it is for their own authority. As they often quote fcripture very improperly, they are in dread left they be fet to rights, by quoting the originals to them, which they do not underftand; and left it be proved to them that the application they make of the oracles of fcripture to their opinions, is right only in their own imagination.”

* Periculum quod ifti fcilicet humeris fuppositis fulciunt, rectius plaustrum fulturi, et hujufmodi fumos fpargunt apud vulgus indoctum ac fuperftitiofum, apud quos cum pro theologis habeantur, nolint ullam opinionis fuæ jacturam facere, verentur ne, cum perperam divinas citant literas, id quod sæpe numero faciunt, græcæ aut hebraicæ veritatis autoritatis in os judicetur, et appareat effe fomnum, quod velut oraculum adducebatur.

Erasmus

Eraſmus having defended himſelf with much mildneſs and moderation, Dorpius, at the inſtigation of the ſame divines, replied with ſome ſharpneſs. Eraſmus remained ſilent; but *Morus*, a friend both of the one and the other, took up the defence of Eraſmus, and, with as much moderation as politeneſs, proved the neceſſity of ſtudying the languages and the holy Scripture, together with the utility of the new verſions which corrected the old one; and cenſured the ungrateful and thorny ſtudies which occupied all the ſchools of that age. Dorpius, naturally equitable, and, beſides, very well informed, although he was acquainted neither with Greek nor Hebrew, recovered forthwith from his error into which the authority and ſolicitations of his colleagues had led him; and quitting ſchool-divinity, applied to the ſtudy of the ſcripture, and undertook to explain to his diſciples the epiſtle to the Romans. In order to prepare them to hear him, an apology was neceſſary, which he introduced in a preliminary diſcourſe, pronounced at Louvain in 1517 *, and published

An. 1519.

Dorpius replies, and Morus answers for Eraſmus.

* This diſcourſe is dedicated to *Beatus Rhenanus*, Mr. Von der Hardt gives it entire. Hiſt. Lit. Reform. P. i. p. 75. et. ſeq.

R

in

An. 1519. in 1519, with some changes. In this discourse are to be found the character of the divines of that age, their studies, sciences, and maxims, narrated by a professor who is unsuspected, and who died * five or six years after in the communion of the church of Rome.

Dorpius re-
tracts, is
desirous that
the Scrip-
tures and
the lan-
guages
should be
studied.

Dorpius sets out with shewing the necessity of studying the scripture, because it is the only source of true divinity, and because it alone is invested with an infallible authority which neither the fathers, nor the doctors, nor the glosses possess. On this account he is astonished at the fondness which those of his time entertained for the study of Aristotle, and at the little value they set upon the sacred books †. “With what care,” says he, “what perseverance, what watch-

* He died in 1525.

† Ex his (namely the evangelists and the epistles of St. Paul,) aliisque canonicis scripturis, hauriamus oportet quidquid firmum, solidum, inconcussum afferere possumus, p. 77. Aristotelem omnes fere nos, quanta cura, quanta pertinacia, quibus vigiliis ac sudore didicimus, non propositiones modo omnes, sed et voculas omnes, syllabas omnes, (pene divinas) apiculos excutientes. Sed cur otiosum videtur, aut alienum, tantundem laboris impendere divo Paulo? Qua, quaeso, fronte Aristotelis dogmata ad unum memoria tenemus et totus ab illa Paulus exulat? p. 77.

“ ings,

“ ings, what labours, do not almost all the An. 1519.
 “ divines learn Aristotle? Not a proposition,
 “ nor a word, nor a syllable, nor, if we may
 “ so speak, an accent escapes attention.
 “ This is not the place to examine whether
 “ it becomes christians to apply themselves
 “ in this manner to the study of pagan phi-
 “ losophers. But can any one, after this,
 “ call that an unprofitable and mistaken
 “ labour which is taken to understand St.
 “ Paul? And how have we the face to teach
 “ all the dogmas of that philosopher, while
 “ we do not know a word of this apostle of
 “ Jesus Christ?”

The reasons which the divines of that pe- Futile rea-
sons of the
divines for
rejecting
the study of
the Scrip-
ture.
 riod had for treating the Scripture in this
 manner are too worthy of the curiosity of
 our age not to be related. Some said that
 the Scripture was too clear, and that they
 found in it an insipid facility*. Others, on the
 contrary, were discouraged by its difficulty,
 and found therein obscurities which no eye

* Non me delectant, inquiet aliquis, tam aperta,
 tam manifesta, ac obvia. Obscura placent, in quibus
 operæ pretium est versari, ac operam insumere. At
 alius absterreor inquiet, difficultate obscuritateque,
 tum rerum, tum sermonis literarum sacrarum, &c.
 Ibid.

Ans. 1519. could penetrate. Could great geniuses submit to read books in which every thing is too simple and too common to merit their attention? or ought they indeed to lose their time in reducing to order a chaos, in which the obscurity of the matter was yet further increased by that of the expression? Dorpius, furnished with the authorities of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, answered the objectors of both kinds with propriety; that the scripture is clear and easy in the doctrines necessary to salvation; and that if it expresses itself a little obscurely in one place, it explains itself perfectly in another; that it has, besides, certain depths which are sufficient to occupy, for the whole of life, the most attentive and penetrating understandings; that the knowledge which rejects the proud accords itself to the humble; that in order to understand and relish the scripture, a person must get rid of the presumption and bad taste which may sometimes be acquired from reading pagan authors; that St. Augustine complains that as long as he was prepossessed in favour of the eloquence of Cicero, he did not find the scripture worthy of his study; but that he then had only bombast in his mind, while he thought he possessed sublimity. “I wish to God,”
continues

continues Dorpius, “ that the misfortune of Ann. 1519.
 “ St. Augustine were not that of a great
 “ number * of divines of our age ! They
 “ find in the Scripture a meanness unworthy
 “ of occupying geniuses sublime and acute
 “ as theirs, and they disdain to make it the
 “ object of their study.”

As to the following objection that there is no elegance in the sacred books, it did not seem likely to come from divines who pique themselves upon running down politeness in speech, and hating it. Upon this ground Dorpius takes up the defence, and shews, that it is not sufficient to think justly, when a person is called on to communicate his thoughts ; that it is necessary he should express himself well, and that St. Paul himself is desirous “ that sacred discourses be seasoned with the salt of wisdom †,” and adorned with what he calls “ grace,” to the end that they may be the more agreeable to the hearers. He maintains, after St. Jerome and

* Quod, ô utinam non multis nostro quoque seculo accideret, ut credant scripturæ sacræ humilitatem indignam esse ingeniorum suorum plusquam Chrysippio, ut ipsis videtur, acumine ; indignam, in quam studium illi suum infusant. Ibid.

† Col. iv. 6.

R 3

other

An. 1519, other fathers, that if this apostle had not always the eloquence which consists in the arrangement and harmony of words, and in purity of style, he possesses an eloquence more vigorous and more majestic, which is not merely persuasive; on the contrary it astonishes, it raises admiration; it bears down, it prostrates the mind that would resist it.

The author states the method which the divines pursued in their studies. They passed the valuable years of their youth *, in studying logic, and did not think ten years too much to acquire the art of composing sophisms in perfection, of enveloping truth in darkness, and of defending falsehood and truth with equal probability. "I do not condemn logic," says Dorpius, "but I should not wish it to be
 "made the only study. Still less should I
 "wish a person to lose the finest and best
 "part of his life in acquiring an unprofitable
 "and captious science, the refuse of all the
 "sciences, and completely unworthy of a man
 "of brilliant parts; for besides, as there is

* Soli dialecticæ, (ô utinam foret dilectica, et non vilior alga sophistica) huic soli, nomine quidem dialecticæ, re ipsa cavillatrici sophisticæ, vix major pars vitæ apud multos satis esse videtur, atque ea sane melior, &c. Ibid. p. 84.

" nothing

“ nothing more despicable, so is there also An. 1519.
 “ nothing more pernicious, inasmuch as this
 “ vain sophistry depraves the understanding of
 “ young persons who suffer themselves to be
 “ charmed with it, and who preserve no taste
 “ for useful sciences.”

One must not be surprised if persons, educated in this science, filled divinity with useless and speculative questions. Dorpius applies to them what St. Paul says upon this subject, 1 Timothy vi. 3, 4, 5. He then exclaims,
 “ When I read this passage of St. Paul and
 “ others upon the same subject, I cannot
 “ enough wonder * that there are yet divines
 “ who dare to introduce profane and extra-
 “ vagant questions into the science of reli-
 “ gion. They truly fill the character of those
 “ mentioned by St. Paul who are always

* Vehementer demirari soleo, qua fronte quidam miseras vexantes chartas, tam multa deliria, profana, inepta, stulta, anilia, vaniloqua, sacræ theologiæ invexerint.

Suo ingenio assidua opinionum scabie prurienti cuncta definientes, ac propemodum jurantes, quicquid ipsi ulla evasione, ullis technis ac strophis, ullo fuco ac fumo a contradictione, ut ipsi loquuntur, tueri possunt. Unde quantum sit exortum mali quam pestifera invaserint dogmata, non est explicandi tempus. Hominum traditiones, nihil aliud afferentes; quod si quis contra misset, ô Deus! quanta verborum pugna! quæ digladiatio! quæ bella!

An. 1519. “ studying without ever arriving at the know-
 “ ledge of the truth. They forsake the in-
 “ structions of Jesus Christ to wander after
 “ their own imaginations ; while given up to
 “ their rashness, and tormented with the itch of
 “ opinions, they have the boldness to deter-
 “ mine every thing, and are prepared to af-
 “ firm with an oath whatever they are able
 “ to defend by any subterfuge or artifice, be
 “ it what it may. Who then can enumerate
 “ the evils, the poisonous doctrines which
 “ spring from this source. They allege only
 “ the traditions of men ; and yet if any one
 “ dare even to open his mouth, what wrang-
 “ lings, what conflicts, what wars has he not
 “ to encounter ?”

After these reflections upon scholastic divinity, Dorpius recalls the divines from traditions to the holy Scripture, which is the infallible rule of faith ; he confirms this by the testimony of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. In particular he quotes what the latter wrote to *Eustochium* *, namely, that none of the sisters

* She was the daughter of Paula, a Roman lady, and lived thirty-five years in the nunnery of Bethlem under the conduct of St. Jerome, in the fourth age ; she was so perfectly learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, that she was called, the new prodigy of the world. Collier. M.

were

were suffered to be ignorant of the Psalms; An. 1519. and that there was not one of them who did not daily learn something out of the Bible. Upon this the author makes the following observation; “ that he cannot conceive what
 “ answer those persons can make on this
 “ head, who do not allow women to read the
 “ holy Scripture, since, at the time of St.
 “ Jerome, there were some females more
 “ learned than many divines *.” He earnestly exhorts his disciples to apply themselves to the study of the word of God, and concludes with these words: “ If I can persuade you to
 “ do it, I shall render a great service not
 “ only to you, but to the sacred volumes,
 “ and to the christian republic: to you †, be-
 “ cause I shall prevent you from losing your
 “ time in unprofitable questions; to the sa-
 “ cred volumes, because they will not be

* Quo in loco miror quid dicturi sunt qui putant nefas esse ut mulieres ullæ scripturam attingant, cum Hieronomi tempore tot fuerint fœminæ multis theologis eruditiores.

† De vobis quibus autor fuero ne tempus, - - - otiosis nugamentis tam miserè perdatis: De libris sacris, quod non ita indignè scholasticis nugis contaminabuntur, uti aliquot jam sæculis factum fuisse videmus: De republica christiana, quia multo plures hac via contingent viri docti, - - - atque ex Dei lege, non hominum somnio salubriter populo Dei consultari. Ibid.

“ polluted

An. 1519. “ polluted by sophisms, as we see they have
 “ been for some ages ; to the christian re-
 “ public, because by these means it will
 “ possess many more learned men, who will
 “ impart salutary instructions, taken from
 “ the law of God, and not dreams and in-
 “ ventions of men.” To this exhortation
 Dorpius adds a very fine encomium on St.
 Paul, to whom he applies all the titles which
 the school bestows upon its heads, such as an
 irrefragable, angelic, subtil, seraphic, divine,
 &c. All the talents possessed by these theo-
 logians are united in St. Paul to such a high
 degree, that it would be a kind of crime to
 place them on a parallel with him * ; “ but
 “ this,” continues he, “ is imperceptible to
 “ those persons, who entangle themselves
 “ incessantly in the labyrinths of useless
 “ questions.”

Dorpius next recommends the study of
 the Greek and Hebrew languages, without
 which it is not possible to understand the
 Scripture thoroughly. He justifies, by the
 authority of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, the
 necessity of recurring to originals in order to
 correct the versions, and to decide when there

* At hoc non sentiunt, qui perpetuis quæstionum
 inutilium labyrinthis sese involvunt. Ibid. p. 82.

are different readings in the latin copies. And An. 1519.
 as the generality of the modern divines pretended that it was necessary to confine one's self to the vulgate, as if that vulgate were authentic and infallible, he cites a manuscript work of *Peter d'Ailli*, which he had found in the library of the monastery of St. Martin of Louvain. "As there are to be found in
 "the bible *," says this cardinal, "passages
 "which have been corrupted, it is necessary
 "to correct the copies of it; but for this purpose great care must be taken not to admit
 "all sorts of divines indiscriminately. Those
 "must be chosen who are skilled in grammar,
 "and in the greek and hebrew languages; for
 "there are some who, ignorant of the languages, have had the presumption to make
 "corrections upon their own authority, whence
 "many corruptions and scandalous errors

* Propter exempla corruptionis, quæ in Biblia inveniuntur, et alia multa ejusmodi, expediret exemplaria sacri canonis examinari diligenter et corrigi, ad quam conationem non sunt omnes indifferentur admitendi, sed theologi multum in grammatica et linguis hebræa et græca eruditi. Quia enim multi in his minus periti propria autoritate corrigere præsumpserunt, multi scandalosi errores et corruptiones secutæ sunt. Et in hoc, prout in multis aliis utiliter providendis, multum negligenter se habet romana ecclesia, et habuit primoribus temporibus. Ibid. p. 83.

" have

An. 1519. “ have ensued. And in that, as in many
 “ other things, for which it would have been
 “ important to provide, the Roman church
 “ hath been, and still is, extremely negli-
 “ gent.”

Dorpius defends, at considerable length, the new versions, and the necessity of correcting the vulgate by the originals; he shews that a number of versions cannot be otherwise than useful, because one interpreter succeeds better in one place, and another in a different one. He observes that there have been several Latin versions, as appears by the numerous quotations made by the Latin fathers; and that those who were not qualified to consult the originals, might inform themselves of the sense of a passage by comparing the different versions. For a man who was unacquainted with the languages, this author is extremely judicious and critical. He writes Latin in a polished style, and is possessed of candour and sincerity *. He candidly acknow-

* It is, I believe, to this piece of Dorpius that Froben alludes in the letter to Zuinglius in 1522. Ap. Hott. II. E. viii. 26. Dorpii orationem mitto, nisi habueris antea, qui a factione theologica summa ab orationem istam affectus contumelia, simulque ex suo ejectionis collegio, &c.

ledged the injustice he had committed in writing against Erasmus, makes reparation for it, and returns thanks to Morus for having undeceived him. An. 1519.

While the divines were disputing at Leipzig, the electors assembled at Franckfort were engaged in the election of an * emperor. The two principal candidates were Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain. The pope opposed the election of Charles; the Swiss that of Francis; neither solicitations nor offers were omitted by either party to gain Frederick to their side. Frederick refuses the imperial crown, and procures Charles the Fifth to be elected.

Francis I. deputed ambassadors, and addressed letters to him conceived in the most polite terms. To the former he replied, that his duty and his oath obliged him not to take any step either through solicitations or interest; and that he hoped the king, their master, who bestowed on him the titles of a wise and pious prince, and of an honest man, would

* Maximilian died at Lintz in the month of January. He was favoured by fortune, but did not avail himself of it. He is accused of designs ill conducted, of inconstancy and prodigality. Nevertheless he possessed fine qualities: he was valiant, active, laborious, secret, and gracious. Guic. xiii. 2.

be

An. 1519. be satisfied with this answer*. Charles, on his part, requested his vote, and the original letters are still to be seen which he addressed to him†, and which could not be more handsome and engaging. The electors, embarrassed with the solicitations and intrigues of these two competitors, resolved to bestow the empire on Frederick. This prince returned them his thanks with a greatness of soul scarcely to be paralleled, and observed to them, with that modesty which always accompanies the greatest merit, that the affairs of the empire required a prince more able than him to govern it, and more powerful to defend it. The elector of Treves took every means in his power to persuade him not to refuse a dignity which all the princes yielded to him without envy, but he could not move him; yet the elector was not discouraged: he went to him at night, and

* It was on the Thursday after *Reminiscere* Sunday, that is to say, towards the end of February, that the elector, who was then at Altenburg, made the above reply to the ambassadors of Francis I. This is taken from his manuscript life by Spalatinus.

† There are two of them; one dated from Montferrat, the 6th of February, and the other from Barcelona the 2d of March.

represented

represented to him, that princes of a moderate power had often raised great armies, and achieved glorious exploits, both within and without the empire; that a duke of Saxony had supported war in the low countries almost at his own expence; that before him, the Margrave Albert had assembled great forces; that he ought to recollect that duke Ernest, his father, had obliged Mathias, king of Hungary, who had declared war against him, to sue to him for peace, without daring to hazard a battle, because he had perceived that this prince, with the assistance of his brother and some other allies, was in a condition to crush him; that he might reckon upon the forces of the princes who would interest themselves in maintaining an authority which they had given only to his merit; and that, finally, the archbishop had directions to assure him, on their part, that they would devise the means of keeping up a force sufficient to cause him to be respected by Germany, and by the neighbouring powers. He did not fail to represent to him the danger there was in confiding, to a foreign and powerful prince, the sovereign authority of the empire. The ambassador of England, likewise, offered him all his master's forces

to

AN. 1519. to support the imperial dignity, which he intreated him to accept. But Frederick continued inflexible, and declaring suddenly in favour of Charles, for whom he inclined, without any one having been able, until that moment, to penetrate his designs, he drew all the electors to the same side, and had in one and the same day the glory of refusing the empire *, and of giving it away.

Charles the fifth thanks Frederick, and requests him to take charge of affairs in his absence.

The new emperor had no sooner received an account of his election, than he returned thanks to Frederick by letters which still exist †, and which will not be so much the monument of his thankfulness as of his ingratitude. He requested him at the same time to take charge, during his absence, of the affairs of the empire. The elector's generous refusal made a great noise, and drew on him much commendation: it is, in fact, an instance extremely uncommon even in times of the most exalted virtue; but almost incredible at a period when ambition and self-interest were the objects of general adoration. It would have been of greater service

* See in the Remarks † some particulars of the election of Charles V.

† They are written from Barcelona, the 29th of July.

‡ Vide p. 98.

to

to the reformation, if so excellent a prince An. 1519.
 had accepted the empire; but his refusal did
 him greater honour, and will for ever reflect
 glory upon the truth, which, on revisiting the
 earth *, had him for its defender.

The concerns of the empire had interrupt-
 ed the negotiation carried on by Miltitz. He
 resumed it after the election, and returned
 into Saxony for the purpose of presenting the
 elector with the golden rose. It was only a
 few months since the pope had resolved on
 sending it to him; for he had not given it to
 Miltitz when he left Rome †; either in order
 to render it more desirable, or from a wish that
 the disposition which the court of Saxony en-
 tertained with respect to the pope, and with
 respect to the affair of Luther, should not be
 known. The present was accompanied with
 a number of briefs ‡. In that which was
 addressed to the elector the pope explained

Miltitz re-
 turns into
 Saxony, to
 present the
 golden rose
 to the elec-
 tor.

* *En rentrant dans le monde.* Truth may justly be
 said to have *revisited the earth*, when the glorious re-
 formation, dispelling the gloom of dark superstition,
 which hung heavy on the christian world, made way
 for the return of the pure light of evangelical truth, to
 irradiate the minds of men. M.

† Miltitz received it at Augsberg the 11th of May.

‡ The brief to the elector is dated the 24th of Octo-
 ber, 1518. Those addressed to Pfeffinger and Spala-
 tinus, are dated in the month of January 1519.

An. 1519. at length all the mysteries of the blessed rose, and the ceremonies of the benediction; he enlarged upon the affection and extraordinary regard he entertained for this prince, of which he afforded him a signal proof, in making him a present of such importance, and upon the obligation under which he placed the elector of being more than ever devoted to the holy see. There were other briefs for Pseffinger and Spalatinus, which turned upon the same subject; unless that those ministers were solicited in them, to induce their master to repress “ the detestable rashness “ and notorious heresy of Luther, that son of “ the devil;” and to employ for that purpose measures honourable to the prince and suited to the holy see. This was, in fact, to say, that he ought to be delivered up to the cruelty of inquisitors. In another brief, addressed to the bishop who was to perform mass on the day of the presentation of the golden rose, the pope gave to the prelate the power of granting plenary indulgences to all the assistants who should say five *paters* and five *aves*, for the prosperity of the sovereign pontiff and the elector.

The elector
does not
choose to re-
ceive it him-

The nuncio furnished with these briefs was desirous of carrying the rose in great state to

Wittemberg *, imagining that by these means he should be able to renew the ancient devotion of the people for the holy see, and that a measure of so much celebrity would mortify Luther and the Lutherans, and would induce strangers to believe that the pope retained all his credit and authority in Saxony. But whether the court was unwilling to permit it, or whether, on better consideration, he was in fear lest the pope's present should receive an affront in a place where his name was become every day more odious, and his favours more despicable, the nuncio changed his intention, and presented it to the elector at Altenburg on the 25th of September. It would have been acceptable four years sooner, when Miltitz was directed by Frederick to apply to the pope for it on his part; but it could not come more out of season than at the present. The disputation of Leipstick had given a terrible blow to the authority of the pope. However Leo might please to boast of his present, its time was over; and things of this kind, like those which delight children in their infancy, and which they despise as soon as they begin to use reason, had lost their value. The elector

An. 1519.
self, and orders one of his counselors to receive it in his name.

* Quam (rosam) nescis quanta pompa conatus fuerat Vittenbergam ducere. Luther, in a letter to Staupitz dated the 30th of September.

An. 1519. would not refuse the rose, in order not to offend the pope too openly; but not choosing to receive it in person, that he might avoid playing a farce unworthy of himself *, he directed *Fabian de Feilitzsch*, his counsellor, to go through the ceremony in his room.

Miltitz is recalled, and the elector of Saxony is disheartened from interfering for an accommodation between the pope and Luther.

Miltitz, after this, requested a fresh interview with Luther. It was granted him, and took place at *Libenverde*, a little town in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg. The result was that Luther should appear before the archbishop of Treves, but should receive, nevertheless, neither censure nor excommunication on the part of the pope. The elector approved of this determination; but the nuncio, a little after his departure, wrote to Frederick †, that the pope began to loose his patience; that Luther preached incessantly; that there were bishops who advised his holiness to recall Miltitz, and to commit this business to another who possessed more vigour and less complaisance; and that it was to be feared lest the court of Rome, wearied out with so many delays, might at length let fall the thunder, which it had held suspended for such a length of time. The elector, who

* Rosam, quam vocant auream, nullo honore dignatus est, imo pro ridiculo habuit elector, says Luther in the preface to his works in Latin.

† The letter is dated the 10th of December.

saw clearly that these menaces regarded him-
 self, being invariably resolved not to commit
 his authority, nor to afford any handle whatever
 to the pope, put an end to the negotiation,
 and declared that he would no more inter-
 meddle in it. This is the whole of what took
 place on this occasion in the year 1519.

During these transactions Luther continued
 to explain the Psalms in his public lectures,
 the Gospel and the book of Genesis in his
 sermons. He fulfilled, besides, all the duties
 of his situation; he wrote and received letters
 from all parts, and his knowledge increasing
 by study and meditation, he began to doubt
 concerning the number of sacraments, auri-
 cular confession, communion in one kind,
 the sacred rights of the priests*, and other
 points of the doctrine of the schools. The
 elector having fallen sick during this period,
 he sent him a little book of consolation,
 which contained fourteen meditations, seven
 upon the evils which afflict christians, and
 seven upon the advantages which ought to

An. 1519.
 Luther dis-
 covers new
 errors.

* “ *Du sacerdoce* des pretres,” literally the *priesthood*
 of the priests. The Abbé Furetiere thus explains the
 word *sacerdoce*. “ *Ordre et caractere de Pretise, qui*
“ donne pouvoir dans l’eglise Romaine de consacrer des
“ hosties, et d’absoudre des penitens.” The order and
 character of the priesthood, which confers power in the
 Roman church to consecrate hosts, and to absolve pe-
 nitents. M.

An. 1519. console them. This little work was thought an excellent one *, and was universally esteemed. The elector also required from Luther an explanation of the epistles and gospels for Lent. He promised it, although he was overwhelmed with business.

Luther publishes, this year, his commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, which was so well received as to be translated into several languages.

But of all the works of his which appeared this year, the most considerable is his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. It was translated into several languages, and printed in the following year in Spanish with his other works. It is a theological and moral commentary. Excellent remarks are to be found in it for the clearing up of the text, although the author (who held this epistle in such admiration, that he called it *his* epistle, to which he was, as it were, entirely devoted) had not then considered it so thoroughly as he has since done. He explained, at great length, in that work, his opinion upon justification by faith; but he was so far from making any attack upon the necessity of sanctification that he treated as

* Erasmus wrote about that time to Christopher, bishop of Bâle; and speaking of this little work, he says: Magnopere probatus est, etiam ab his, qui doctrinam illius omnibus modis averfantur. Lib. xiv. ep. 28. This book is included among the works of Luther during the year 1520; but it was composed in 1519.

deceivers

deceivers those divines who asserted that a single degree of charity was sufficient to salvation. He maintained that these persons destroyed the spirit of christianity, and the law of Jesus Christ, the object of which is to render man perfect. In it Luther censured the errors of the court of Rome, which he distinguished in the dedication from the Roman church; but in order to soften the censure, he subjoined great protestations of obedience to the see of Rome. He was at that time influenced by those sentiments of reconciliation to which the negotiation of Miltitz had inclined him; and he hoped the pope would enter into the same. Both the censure and the protestations were omitted in a second edition which was published in 1524. To this there are two prefaces which deserve to be read*. The perusal of the sacred books is therein recommended, and censure passed in a grave and modest manner upon the negligence of the age in regard to the study of those books, while men attached themselves with an insatiable curiosity to that of books merely human. These prefaces appear to be the work of Melanchthon, al-

* These two prefaces are under the supposititious names of *Otho Germanus*, and *Paulus Commodus Bretagnus*.

An. 1519. though the style of them is more florid than the style of that great man at a later period; but this may be a consequence of his youth.

Zwinglius
had thoughts
of reforming
the church,
before Lu-
ther.

It is time to speak also of Zwinglius, who laboured to correct the doctrine and abuses in Swisserland, while Luther was doing the same with so much success in Germany. This is the less to be dispensed with, since it cannot be denied that Zwinglius had preceded Luther in the design of the reformation of the church, Luther having been since led to adopt that measure only by accident, and on account of the indulgences. Of this Zwinglius produces public proofs and living witnesses*. He could not allow himself to be termed a Lutheran; not that he was inclined to withhold justice from Luther, but because it would be doing injustice to him-

* Etiam si quis Lutheri dogmata nunquam legisset, prædicaret autem verbum Dei pure et sinceriter, eum magni convitii loco Lutheranum vocitare audent: hoc idem mihi quoque contingit. Cæpi ego evangelium prædicare, anno salutis decimo sexto supra millesimum et quintengeffimum, eo scilicet tempore, cum Lutheri nomen in nostris regionibus inauditum adhuc erat, sic autem prædicavi cum missa adhuc in usu esset pontificiis. Evangelium, quod in missa legebatur, populo proposui explicandum; explicandum, inquam, non hominum commentis, sed sola scripturarum biblicarum collatione Testem hujus rei habere possum generosum et verè nobilem Theobaldum de Geroldseck, administratorem templi Eremitici. Zwing. Op. t. i. fol. 37.

self

self and to truth. For, besides that he had An. 1519.
 drawn no part of his knowledge from this
 reformer of Germany, but from the scripture
 itself, which he had taken care to read
 thoroughly, and to study deeply; he had
 too much good sense not to perceive that
 those names of sects were only fitted to divide
 men, and to give them false ideas of religion,
 by making them believe, that to be of such or
 such a religious society is to be in the way of
 salvation *. It is thus that persons relapse into
 the error which they censure in the catholics.
Out of the church there is no salvation; which
 is as much as to say, out of that of which we
 are members; and thus that by attaching
 themselves too scrupulously to the opinions of
 a man, they only substitute other errors in the
 place of those opposed by him. Zwinglius
 boasts of being a christian, and a good christian†. This is the end at which he aims,
 and

* How strongly does this apply to the narrow sentiments of our modern sectaries! Yet Zwinglius was a *dissenter* and a *reformer*; a dissenter from the doctrines of the church of Rome, and a reformer of its abuses. M.

† Nullus quærat a proximo Lutheranus ne fiet? sed hoc, quid de Christi doctrina sentiat, quam placeat, quam oblectet verbum Dei; Christianus an fiet, id est, an incessanter bonum operetur erga Deum et proximum? Hic enim dicitur Christianus qui indefesso studio

AN. 3519. and to which he is desirous that others should aim also.

It must be allowed that to knowledge, extraordinary for that age, he joined a candour, a prudence, a rectitude, a grandeur of soul extremely worthy of praise. He has been unjustly defamed, not only by the catholics, but by those who, being engaged themselves in the same design, ought to have done him the more justice : but pride, envy, and malice enter especially into the soul of those men, who uniting fortunate issues with great talents, are desirous of bearing rule every where, and cannot endure the smallest contradiction. This is what Zwinglius has experienced from Luther and his followers.

studio bonum operetur erga Deum et proximum,
Zuing. Op. t. i. p. 38.

“ Let no one inquire of another whether he is a
“ Lutheran. Let him rather inquire what his sentiments are concerning the doctrine of Christ, how
“ far he is pleased, how far he is delighted with the
“ word of God. Let him inquire whether he is a
“ *christian*, that is, whether he be incessantly employed
“ in good works, towards God and towards man. For
“ he alone is properly to be called a christian, who,
“ with indefatigable zeal, labours in doing what is
“ right and fitting, in respect to God, and in respect
“ to his neighbour.”

It were much to be wished that sentiments of so enlarged and truly catholic a nature prevailed more than they appear to do at present in the christian world. M.

Ulric

Ulric Zwinglius* was born on the 1st of An. 1519.
 January 1484, in a village in the county of Origin of
 Zwinglius,
 his educa-
 tion and
 studies.
Tockenburg, called *Wildbans*†, situated upon
 the borders of the lake of Zurich, and of
 which his father was bailiff. He was sprung
 from a good and ancient family, which had
 preserved property, and was respected. He
 was brought up until the age of ten years
 with one of his uncles who was a dean, and a
 man of learning and probity. From the
 hands of this good priest he passed into those
 of *Binzlius*, who was skilled in the art of
 instructing youth, and exercised, at this time,
 that employment at Basle. But as he made
 an astonishing progress in a very short time,
 and as he drew on himself the ill-will of all
 the scholars, especially of those who were the
 most advanced in age, because he carried off
 all the prizes; this preceptor, who was a very
 honest man, wrote to his father and ac-
 quainted him that having nothing more which
 he could teach his son, it would be proper to
 send him to a college, where he would pur-
 sue studies more suitable to his genius. The
 father took him away, and placed him under
 the direction of *Lupulus*‡, who taught the

* Hotting Hist. Fecl. vol. vi. p. 193. et seq.

† In Latin *Domus silvestris*.

‡ He was called *Henry Lupulus*.

An. 1519. belles-lettres and poetry at Berne, and who was the first who opened a college for the liberal sciences in Swisserland*.

The application of Zwinglius was equal to his talents. He made a wonderful progress, and partook of no other amusement in the course of his studies, but that of music, to which he was extremely inclined, and wherein he succeeded so well, that the Dominicans formed the design of engaging him in their order. The enemies of Zwinglius have made a charge against him of his skill in an art, apparently of so little importance, without considering that it is nature which moulds men much more than instructions, and that this skill had cost him extremely little. For his own part he judged very differently. Looking upon music as a recreation the most suitable to a man of study†, because there is none whatever more proper to refresh a mind fatigued by meditation, he continually recommended it to his followers.

* Miconius in vita Zwinglii.

† He was certainly in the right. *Quintilian*, so well known, and so extolled, passes an encomium on music, and asserts that it is necessary to every orator who wishes to excel. He sets out with these words: "Quis ignorat antiquis temporibus non studii modo, rerum etiam venerationis habuisse, ut iidem musici, et vates, et sapientes judicarentur?" Instit. Orat. lib. i. cap. 8.

His

His father and uncle would not suffer him to enter into the order of the Dominicans, and sent him to study philosophy at Vienna. At the end of two years he returned to Basle, in order to study divinity under a professor of great reputation at that period. This was *Thomas Wittenbach*, who had quitted the university of Tübingen to teach in that of Basle. This learned man was not ignorant of the abuses of his age, and particularly that of indulgences, which he had the courage, upon occasion, to oppose. It appears by a * letter which Zwinglius wrote to him in 1523, that this good old man was disgusted with scholastic divinity. "You have reason," says Zwinglius to him, "to complain of us, one
 " and the other, for having consumed our time
 " so uselessly in the frivolous subtilties of the
 " schools. You must not, however, be uneasy
 " on my account: it is a natural consequence
 " of the calamity of the age. But our re-
 " pentance will serve as a motive and exam-
 " ple to those who possess any elevation and
 " freedom of mind, not to amuse themselves
 " with things which we feel joy on having

An. 1519.

He studies
divinity un-
der an able
master at
Basle.

* Hottinger recites it p. 194, and has taken it from the archives of Zurich.

" quitted,

An. 1519. "quitted, accompanied with regret at not
"having done it sooner."

Zwinglius
receives the
order of
priesthood,
and con-
tinues to
study.

Zwinglius took the degree of master of arts at Basle, at the age of twenty-two years, preached, for the first time, at Rapperswyl in the territory of Zurich, received soon after the order of priesthood, and said his first mass in his own country on St. Michael's day 1506. He was afterwards chosen pastor of Glaris, where he exercised his ministry for ten years. It was there that this great man applied himself entirely to study. He learned Hebrew under *Andrew Bretenstein*. He read the Scripture diligently, consulted the fathers, and wrote with his own hand the epistles of Paul in Greek, added thereto remarks taken from Origen, from St. Ambrose, and from St. Jerome, the original of which has been preserved*. He formed common places of divinity, with the sentiments of the fathers upon each point, and did not neglect the study of the modern divines, but above all of *Picus of Mirandola*, whom he highly valued; he read the ancient philosophers *Aristotle* and *Plato*; took delight in Seneca whom

* Bullinger relates that he had seen this volume in 1524, in the hand-writing of Zwinglius.

he

he termed *the gardener* * of souls †; learned An. 1519. Valerius Maximus by heart, in order to have always present *the history of great men*: and for the purpose of forming his style and becoming an orator, he took care to read Sallust and Horace among the Latins, Thucydides and Lucian among the Greeks. A judgment may be formed by these studies what was the taste and genius of Zwinglius, and whether it was possible for any person to prepare himself better for the great work to which providence destined him.

While he exercised his ministry in the church of Glaris, he was very desirous of enlightening the understanding of his hearers, but he laboured above all to reform their manners, being well persuaded that he could not make them relish the truths of religion until he had first eradicated the reigning vices. One of them he particularly attacked, which he looked upon as among the most pernicious, and the source of a great number of others. This was the custom established for a length of time in Swisserland of furnishing troops for money to foreign powers.

He begins by reforming the manner previous to enlightening the mind.

* *Animarum agricola*.

† M. de Beaufobre's words are, *le jardinier des âmes*. M.

Many

Ann. 1519. Many persons received pensions from kings and princes of Europe, and levied forces in the state.

Hottinger takes notice of a letter from *Nicholas Hagæus* of Soleure*, written in 1520, which might alone suffice to justify Zwinglius for the zeal with which he laboured to dissuade his fellow-citizens from the practice of furnishing troops to strangers.

It appears by this letter†, that all the Swiss were soldiers, and that they were persuaded that there was no way more sure to reach heaven than the trade of war; that the more men they killed, the more meritorious works they performed, and that, provided they purchased masses or indulgences, they were certain of their salvation. Thence it is that the author calls these masses *the treasure of Pluto*. It formed an admirable secret of the popes. By means of the money which they dispersed by their emissaries, they had the best troops

* Book vi. p. 306.

† Cum hæcenus nihil nisi arma novissent, qui sibi ipsis persuasum habuerint, recta se ad supera voluturos, qui multos obolos persolverint aureos, Deosque sibi multum propitios habituros, si Plutonis ærarium augeant, si multos homines interimant: et laudis tamen aliquid hinc sibi adscribere volunt.

at their disposal; they were enabled to flatter An. 1519. themselves with giving the law every where, and they were sure of the money returning into their coffers, by the channel of masses and indulgences. Was it not, therefore, natural that a friend to his country should open the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and cause them to see the wickedness and the folly of their conduct. But as private benefit has greatly the advantage over that of the public in the minds of the greater part of mankind; those who found their account in the levies, joined themselves to the emissaries of the pope, made much noise, and gave free scope to their invectives; other princes who profited by these succours joined the party; and a judgment may easily be formed of the number of enemies which such boldness drew on Zwinglius, by the motives and influence of those who were interested in the matter.

One may judge of the ideas of Zwinglius, and of the discourses which he held to the people upon this subject, by the * letter which he since wrote to the canton of

Specimen of
the discourses of
Zwinglius
upon the
subject of
foreign war.

* Zwing. Op. tom. i. p. 353. edit. Gualth.

An. 1519. Schwitz *. He availed himself of the occasion when the Swiss had been defeated in Italy, in order

* During the vacancy of the pontificate by the death of Leo X. the bishop of Veroli requested of the cantons that they would enter into the alliance of the pope and the emperor for the defence of Milan, and that they would furnish ten thousand men. They refused both requests, and directed him to depart. On the other hand, the greater part of the cantons sent among them sixteen thousand men to the aid of France in Italy, where they were beaten by the imperial army a day's journey from Bicocca, three miles from Milan, and lost three thousand men. Dispirited by this disaster they retired into their own country. The cantons themselves renewed their complaints against these levies; and that of Schwitz, which had suffered the most on this occasion, adopted the resolution of prohibiting them for twenty-five years. Zwinglius took advantage of these dispositions for writing the letter in question.

The Swiss began to be weary of being the sport of popes, who sacrificed them to their interest. I shall here relate what took place in 1517. The duke of Urbino had re-established himself in his duchy, of which the pope had unjustly dispossessed him. The crafty pontiff had it given out every where that he was levying troops for the purpose of making war upon the Turks. This is, in particular, what his nuncio declared to the Swiss, in order to induce them to furnish him with auxiliaries. The cantons replied, "that when the other states should do their duty in this matter, they would contribute to this war, provided they were supplied with the money requisite." But it was soon seen that this was only a feint, and that the

order to induce them to relish his remon- An. 1519-
strances.

He

the real design of Leo was to make war upon the duke of Urbino. He gave a commission, therefore, to the cardinal of Sion to enlist several thousand Swiss secretly; but the cantons forbade their subjects to enroll themselves. Leo then declared himself openly, and earnestly intreated the Swiss to grant him six thousand men, which they refused. In spite of this refusal his emissaries secretly levied seven companies of soldiers*, whom they conducted through by paths into Italy. But all these troops perished, either by the sword, or by sickness. It is said that the pope expended to no purpose eight hundred thousand ducats upon this war. The cantons were so provoked at these levies that they passed a decree for imprisoning all the emissaries who should be found in the country, and for confiscating the property of those who had taken flight, and banishing them for ever. And as the pope did not pay the subsidies which he had promised to the Swiss by the treaty of alliance made with them, many of the Cantons, exasperated at that procedure, were desirous of breaking the alliance with him, and refused him the troops when he applied for them. Meantime he obtained ten thousand men under the same pretext of

* "*Sept enseignes de gens de guerre*," are the words of Mr. Rachat, as quoted in this note. I have translated *enseignes* by the word *companies*, (which seems to be the only meaning it will admit of in this place,) upon the strength of the following observation under the word *enseigne* in the valuable dictionary of Mr. l'Abbé Furetiere.

"Dans les compagnies Suisses il y a un *enseigne*, et un *porte-en-seigne* qui est sous lui. Dans les autres corps d'infanterie il n'y a que deux *enseignes* par regiment."

In the Swiss companies there is one *ensign*, and an *ensign-bearer* who is under him. In the other corps of infantry there are but two *ensigns* to a regiment. M.

An. 1519.

He first states the specious pretexts with which the partisans of the princes coloured their discourses. It was, they said, a shameful thing, that men so robust and so brave should consume their strength in cultivating barren lands; that they had only to take a part in the service of such or such a prince, and that they would soon see themselves laden with riches and honours. Nothing is more false, said he, than these fine promises, and it is upon this occasion you ought to call to mind the words of Solomon: "The deceiver
 "deceiveth his friend;" and those of Jesus Christ: "Ye shall know them by their
 "fruits: Do men gather grapes of thorns,
 "or figs of thistles?" These persons have no other object but their own interest, and those of the states who pay them; they abuse your simplicity, they think only of precipitating you into a thousand dangers, and of satisfying the ambition and tyranny of sovereigns at the expence of your toils, your dangers, and

war against the Turks; but as he wanted twelve thousand, they replied they would add two thousand priests to make up the number; and that if his agents enlisted secretly more than the ten thousand men, each canton would punish such of its subjects as should take part therein. *History of the Reformation of Swisserland by Mr. Buchat*, b. i. p. 15. and p. 100.

your

your blood. Never has it cost you so much An. 1519.
 to defend your property, your country, your
 wives and your children, as it costs you
 every day for foreigners. Call to your
 recollection all you have lost in the wars of
 Naples, in the battles of Novara and Milan.
 What rivers of blood have you not there
 shed? What would you say were you to see
 the mercenary foldier, enlisted for money, to
 whom you have done no injury, pillage your
 corn, fell your woods, destroy your vine-
 yards, carry off your flocks, massacre your
 children, violate your virgins, remain un-
 moved at the tears of your women and aged
 men, murder them before your eyes, and set
 fire to your habitations? Would not you call
 upon God to send down fire from heaven upon
 them? And if he refused to hear you, would
 you not be tempted to believe there was no
 God in the world? And this is what you
 yourselves do, allured by the thirst of riches,
 and in order to possess property acquired by
 evil means.

Those who pleaded the cause of this fo-
 reign warfare, said, war is a scourge with
 which God chastises sinful men, and God
 must make use, for that purpose, of the mi-
 nistry of men. That is true, said Zwinglius,

Aa. 1519. but remember this saying of Jesus Christ, "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." Woe, in like manner, to those who, without being called to it, become the instruments of the vengeance of God; for after having made them serve for the punishment of others, he usually punishes them in their turn. But, added these interested advocates, the war into which we are entering is a just one, for its object is to reduce rebels to obedience. If its object be to defend a lawful, equitable, beneficent government, replied Zwinglius, nothing can be more reasonable; but its object, for the most part, is to establish tyranny, to satiate avarice, and to gratify the boundless ambition of sovereigns; and of what sovereigns? Of those who ought to govern the people only by means of persuasion, of those who ought to set the example of equity and moderation, of the pope, of bishops, and of abbots. But, what mean you? Said these partisans of foreign powers, our country cannot furnish subsistence for its inhabitants, and we are forced to leave it, and enlist ourselves abroad. It is true, says Zwinglius, it cannot satisfy a luxury which knows no bounds, and an unbridled love of pleasure:

pleasure: but never was country more calculated to afford a decent competency to laborious, modest, sober inhabitants. A moment's attention to the fertility of its plains, and the abundance of its fruits, may convince us of it; but you despise these mere common advantages: you suffer yourselves to be allured by the promises of men, whose only object is your destruction. I know I shall draw on myself the indignation of formidable persons, but I shall not cease to declare the truth. I have reprobated your treaty with the pope, because it is my duty to reprobate it. You are stripping yourselves of your forces, and you are running the risk of reducing yourselves to the point of being the prey of your enemies; and after having served to gratify their ambition and their avarice, you are incurring the hazard of being, in your turn, the victims of those passions.

It is easy to conceive that discourses of this nature would draw upon Zwinglius a number of enemies. Meantime he retained the esteem of the worthiest people; and after having exercised his ministry with great reputation at Glaris, he was called

Zwinglius is called to the church of the Hermitage.

AN. 1519. to the church of our Lady of the Hermitage*.

The hermitage of the Holy Virgin was the most celebrated place in Swisserland. A miraculous image was preserved there with great veneration, which drew devotees from all parts.

* *The Hermitage*, as it is called in the country of Einsiedlen, is an ancient and rich abbey, the abbot of which has the title of prince. It dates its origin from the time of Charlemagne or Louis le Debonaire, and derives it from a monk educated in the abbey of Richenow, named Maynard, only son of the count of Salgow upon the Danube. Smitten with a love of solitude, he sought it in a desert situated upon the borders of the *Limmat*, which traverses the lake of Zurich. In this place he built a small house, and was killed there about the year 863. No person occupied the situation until about sixty years after; at which time *Ebrard*, dean of the chapter of Straßburg, retired into the same desert, to lead a life of solitude. He repaired Maynard's house, which was in ruins, and added a chapel to it. His successor was the son of a king of Eng'land, named *Gregory*, related to Otho the Great, who founded the infant monastery of the hermitage, gave it titles and privileges, and created Gregory prince and abbot thereof. Its governors must be counts at least, and the monks gentlemen. The riches of this monastery increased in after times by the favour of the popes, and by the indulgences which they granted to those who went thither on pilgrimages. By these means its abbots were sufficiently powerful to support long wars against the canton of Schwitz, their neighbour.

Zwinglius

Zwinglius * was called to the service of this An. 1519, church in 1516. The abbot of the monastery at that time was *Conrad Rechenberg*. Bullinger relates †, that the visitors of the order having come to the hermitage, reproached the abbot that he neglected to say mass, and were desirous of compelling him to say it oftener. He replied, that although, being abbot ‡ of

* Hottinger (vol. viii. 24.) gives a copy of the compact made between Theobald of Hohengerolseck, principal of the abbey of the hermitage, and Zwinglius, on the 14th of April 1516. It was the duty of Zwinglius to serve the church in the quality of *vicar* and *parish priest* (*vicarium et plebanum*). Among the conditions the principal reserves to himself the perquisites arising from persons living, which he terms *libri vite proven-tus*, and a part of the *confessionals*; but leaves him the oblations, or *mortuary rights*, and gives him a quarterly pension of twenty florins of sixteen batzens|| each. He afterwards promised him the best vacant benefice in the nomination of the abbey, upon condition he gave up that he had already at Glaris. He was also entitled to lodging and diet in the monastery. Theobald of Hohengerolseck was, in the end, obliged to retire, and abdicate his dignity and revenues, because he favoured the reformation, being instructed by Zwinglius and the books of Luther.

† Hotting. vol. iii. p. 28.

‡ Præses.

|| A batzen is a coin of Swisserland in value about twopence.

his

An. 1519. his monastery, he was not obliged to give an account of his conduct; he wished nevertheless to observe to them, that if it were true, as was commonly believed, that the body of Jesus Christ was essentially present in the host, he did not presume to judge of others; but that in regard to himself, who was only a poor contemptible monk, he thought himself unworthy not only to offer Jesus Christ to God his father, but even to look at him: and that if, on the contrary, the body of Jesus Christ were not present, woe would be to him should he elevate a bit of bread into the place of God, and cause it to be adored by the people. Hottinger does not say that this took place after the time Zwinglius came into that monastery; nor does he specify the place where Bullinger relates it. The same Hottinger says that Zwinglius quitted Glaris to serve the monastery of the hermitage, only to have an opportunity of making known the truth to a greater number of people, by means of the croud of strangers who resorted to this place from all parts, on account of the miraculous image which was worshipped there.

Miconius

An. 1519.

Zwinglius
sets forth
truths, with-
out exposing
errors.

Miconius informs us that Zwinglius contented himself with preaching evangelical truths without reprehending the abuses of the Roman church; or, at least, touched very slightly upon them. He thought it was necessary, in the first place, to make known the truth, and to let it work upon the hearts of the hearers, who would insensibly draw consequences from it against the abuses. He had already written from Glaris to the bishop of Constance to exhort him to reform them. This was his duty, and it became him to do so, in order not to fail in what he owed his superior. He spoke of them in the same manner to the bishop of Sion, who was then in Switzerland for the purpose of conducting the interests of the pope. This latter prelate declared to Zwinglius “that if ever God
“ vouchsafed him the favour of recovering *
“ the credit and authority he once possessed,

* The word *conserver* here used, signifies *to preserve* rather than *to recover*; but I have rendered it by the latter, both on account of the word *jamais* (ever) in the former part of the sentence, *si jamais Dieu lui faisoit la grace*; and also from the words of the original declaration as given by Zwinglius himself in the first volume of his works: *Quod si Domini clementia me in pristinae dignitatem et imperii locum restitueret, &c.*

“ he

An. 1519. " he would employ all his power to reform
 " the ostentation and corruption of the court
 " of Rome *." He always testified the same
 zeal in the different interviews which he had
 with Zwinglius upon this subject. He was
 well acquainted with the existing errors, and
 loudly condemned them; and if he after-
 wards changed †, this is not the place, says
 Zwinglius, nor the time for discussing it.

The reputation which Zwinglius acquired
 in the hermitage soon occasioned him to be
 recalled to Zurich. This took place on the
 10th of December 1518. He left his charge
 of the hermitage to Leo of Juda ‡. In this

* Zwing. Op. vol. i. p. 230.

† We find in Hottinger a letter from Beatus Rhena-
 nus, by which it appears that Zwinglius laboured in
 concert with this illustrious and learned man for the
 reformation of abuses. The question turned upon in-
 dulgences, and some matter which is not specified, on
 which Rhenanus writes to him in greek, "I suspect the
 " integrity of the cardinal" This, assuredly, is the
 cardinal of Sion. " He is also one of the actors in this
 " farce, unless his disgrace has made a change in him."
 Hotting. vol. vi. p. 307.

‡ Leo of Juda was afterwards pastor of the church of
 St. Peter of Zurich, and was chosen by the congregation
 at the age of twenty-three years. This church was the
 only one of the country which had preserved its ancient
 right of election by the voice of the whole people.

new

new function he declared at the beginning, An. 1519.
 that he would not follow the old custom of explaining certain portions of the gospels, appointed for the Sundays of the year and the festivals; but that he would pursue the plan of the fathers, by explaining the books entire one after another*, and that he would have no other interpreter of Scripture than Scripture itself. Enlightened persons approved his method, others condemned it as novel; but he cited the examples of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, and declared he would conduct himself with so much discretion, as not to give cause of complaint to any one. He quitted the hermitage, and commenced his ministry at Zurich with the explanation of St. Matthew, on the first of January 1519, at the age of thirty-four years.

* If this method afford more liberty to the preacher, it is not without its inconveniencies. There are some passages which do not require explanation; there are also a great number which require superior talents in order to draw from them useful truths; and if this method were to be extended to all Scripture, as is the practice in some churches, I doubt whether it would contribute to the edification of the flock. I believe the best method is, to leave to the pastor the choice of texts; with prudence and knowledge, which it is to be supposed he possesses, he will make a use of it suitable to times and places.

View

An. 1519.

Encomium
on Zwing-
lius, and on
his manner
of preach-
ing the gos-
pel.

View him, then, occupied in explaining Scripture after a new method*. He treads in the steps of the ancients; he draws his information from the Scriptures; he examines the text, he explains the meaning of it; he establishes the doctrine contained in each passage; he teaches that Jesus Christ is the only author of salvation; he leads to him alone the faith of the believer; he declaims against vice in general, and particularly against hypocrisy and superstition: he recommends works of piety; he overthrows luxury, idleness, intemperance, debauchery; but he is anxious rather to establish religion than to oppose errors and superstition; courage and prudence unite in his ministry with knowledge, pulpit eloquence, and irreproachable manners.

He obtains a
place in the
chapter of
Zuric.

In order to obtain greater authority he did not neglect the usual line of his profession; and on the 29th of April 1521 he was admitted into the chapter of St. Felix and St. Regalus of Zuric, where he obtained a canonry upon the resignation of the canon Henry Engelhard †. He swore, according to custom,

* That is, after a method *at that time* new.

† This Engelhard was a doctor of the canon law; "a grave and learned man," says Hottinger, p. 88.

upon the holy evangelists, to observe the statutes and customs. The clause *purè propter Deum* was not forgotten, in order to mark that there was no simony in his election; but it is to be observed, that it was more than two years since Zwinglius preached the gospel at Zuric, and that his doctrine could not be unknown to the canons. There is a certain proof of it, inasmuch as, in the year 1519, he opposed in Zuric itself the cordelier Samson who preached indulgences there. The bishop of Constance was apprized of it, and far from disapproving it, he made John Faber, his vicar*, write to him to keep up his courage, and be firm, and that he would support him. Since that time Zwinglius besought the bishop, both privately by letters and pub-

* Zwinglius declares that he had the original of the letter: he adds only that he did not know whether the vicar wrote to him without the knowledge of the bishop. It appears however from the opinion of this vicar upon the state of the preachers of the Roman church, that he was well acquainted with the prevailing abuses. "Concionatorem vicem persæpe vehementer dolui, quibus nescio quæ putida commentaria revolvenda sunt, quoties ad populum declamandum est . . . Quæ infania est, pro evangelica veritate, somnia quædam et anicularum visiones, et terribilia referre. Sola divini verbi declamandi facultas rudior, quam hæc ætas docta ferat, atque impurior videbatur." Hotting. p. 1271.

licly

An. 1519. licly by writings, and that with all the respect he owed him, to embrace the truth, which was discovering itself on all sides, and which it was no longer possible to resist. But this prelate, who esteemed him at first, became afterwards cold and deaf; and, far from answering, he thwarted him. Zwinglius protests that Faber had said to him more than once, and had written to him, that his bishop would no longer suffer the ostentation and unfounded arrogance of the bishop of Rome. He addressed himself also to Antonio Pucci*, legate in Swisserland, with whom

* With regard to Pucci, who was at Zurich for the purpose of persuading the cantons to furnish troops to the pope alone, Mr. Ruchat gives us an anecdote which has a claim to be preserved, because it tends to make known the state of the church. The Swiss complained to the legate, "that their country was oppressed by the courtiers;" (so they termed those who, without any right, and without being called thereto by their ordinaries, took possession of the rectories and other benefices of the country, by virtue of bulls and grants which they brought from the court of Rome, and of whom the greater part were strangers;) "that the benefices were given to soldiers of the pope's guard, who sold them again afterwards; that priests accused and attainted of murders, heresies, &c. and cast into prison, were absolved by the bishop, and reestablished in the sacerdotal dignity." They requested the pope would remedy these disorders. Pucci promised every thing, and performed nothing. He was very soon recalled, and

whom he had four interviews upon the same subject. The latter made him great promises. Zwinglius boldly told him his designs, and declared to him openly that he should explain the Scripture in such a manner as to give a terrible blow to the pope. An. 1519.

In accepting the charge of the collegiate church of Zurich *, Zwinglius entered upon a course extremely glorious, but attended

Occupations of Zwinglius, his astonishing labours, his zeal, and his firmness.

and left *Jerome des Faucons* in his place. The cantons seeing that there was no hope of justice from the court of Rome, banished from "Switzerland all the courtiers "as wicked rogues and ignorant persons, who had "nothing of the spirit of God," and resolved unanimously to put all those who should in future carry on this sacrilegious traffic into sacks, and cast them into the river. *Hist. of the Reform. of Switzerland by Mr. Ruchat.*

* See upon this Hottinger, vol. vi. 63, et seq. Nothing is more conspicuous in that account than the attention of the chapter to its own interests. But it therein appears that the people still communicated in both kinds; for the procurator is directed to give four pitchers of white wine out of the cellar of the society to the priest, for the purpose of being administered to the people upon certain festivals. This church had been founded by Charlemagne. It possessed very great privileges; and was composed of twenty-four canons, the provost of whom, at the time of Zwinglius, was Felix Grey, a learned man for the age he lived in. It was he who encouraged Zwinglius, who thereupon wrote to Miconius in 1518, that he hoped the belles lettres would make great progress under such a patron.

U

with

An. 1519. with much pain and trouble. He preached regularly every Sunday, and gave lectures in divinity every day, Fridays and festivals excepted; directed the affairs of his church, was always accessible to strangers, and open to the solicitations of his friends, or the occasions of those who came to him; he established and presided over schools, answered important letters which were addressed to him from all parts, gave just, prudent, and moderate advice; and, in the midst of so many toils, encountered, with writings worthy of immortality, the wars which the Roman Catholics, the Anabaptists, and (what is more melancholy) those whom the love of peace and the interest of the gospel induced him to regard as brethren, waged against him without remorse.

Dangers to
which he
was exposed.

He was placed in the midst of an ignorant, but vain, proud, and envious clergy, attached to their customs and opinions less by persuasion than interest; and in the midst of a nation free, haughty, and extremely irritable, whom his adversaries strenuously endeavoured to turn against him; a nation prejudiced from another quarter, and prepossessed in favour of the established opinions. It was not, therefore, without imminent hazard of

his

his life, that he exercised his ministry at An. 1519. Zurich. Attempts were made on him more than once, but always without success, through the vigilance of his friends, and the wise precautions of the magistrates, who placed a guard before his house during the night. He had two kinds of persons particularly to dread; a great number of the laity, because he had loudly condemned, as has been already observed, the custom of selling their blood to foreign princes*, who had their pensioners in the state, whom they supplied with large sums of money for these levies; and a great number of ecclesiastics; because he had advised the magistrates to reduce the number of those who were necessary for the service of the churches, to let the monasteries drop after the decease of those who inhabited them, and to apply their revenues to institutions serviceable to the state: this was the reason that the monks were his most inve-

* Before Zwinglius, the most pious men had censured this custom. See what Hottinger relates, p. 418. concerning the soliloquies of Wimphlingius professor at Heidelberg, who introduces the monk *Nicholas Sub-sylvanus*, addressing the Swiss, and exhorting them to renounce the practice of furnishing soldiers to the different princes to support their ambition. This is what Zwinglius obtained from those of Zurich.

An. 1519. terate enemies. Hottinger gives from the original * an anonymous letter, dated on the first of May 1519, by which he was acquainted that a resolution had been taken to poison him. The person who gave him this information wrote it in Greek, because that language was then little known. He entreated him not to make any inquiry from what quarter the intelligence came, but he assured him that it was more infallible than the oracle of Delphos. He was a priest who had discovered the matter by means of confession.

Zwinglius
procures
from the
magistracy
an order fa-
vourable to
the refor-
mation.

Zwinglius having, in the year 1519, communicated his sentiments to persons of learning who were attached to the truth, obtained an order from the magistrates of Zurich, directing their ecclesiastics to preach only the pure word of God †. “ We were
“ quite

* Book vi. p. 236.

† In their apology to the confederated cantons, of the 21st of March 1524.

It has been already remarked that Zwinglius had thoughts of reforming the church before Luther. If people will not place a reliance on his own testimony, they ought to believe Capito, Bullinger, and above all, Pallavicini. Bullinger, in his manuscript history of the reformation, says, that Zwinglius preceded Luther by a year and an half. It appears by a letter
from

“ quite unacquainted with the doctrine of An. 1519.
 “ Luther,” say these magistrates, “ when we
 “ issued orders to all the rectors and other
 “ ministers of our city and territory to preach
 “ only the gospels and the epistles of the
 “ apostles, and to follow, in their explana-
 “ tions, the designs of the holy spirit, and the
 “ interpretations which the Scripture itself
 “ supplied. The canon law is not repug-
 “ nant to this ordinance. We also enjoin
 “ them to preach nothing which cannot be
 “ supported by Scripture, and to omit every
 “ thing that was suspected of innovation.” It
 was not possible to proceed to reformation by a
 way more direct, or more prudent. The holy
 Scripture is taken as a guide; the meaning

from Capito to Bullinger in 1536, that Zwinglius
 and himself had resolved to attack the tyranny of the
 pope. “ Nam antequam Lutherus in lucem emerferat,
 Zwinglius et ego inter nos communicavimus de pon-
 tifice deiciendo, etiam dum ille vitam degeret in
 eremitorio; nam utrique, ex Erasmi consuetudine, ex
 lectione bonorum autorum, qualecumque iudicium
 tuum subolefcebat.” Extract from the original by Hot-
 tinger, vol. vi. p. 207. With respect to Pallavicini, he
 admits the same thing in his history of the council of
 Trent, b. i. p. 19. and adds, that Zwinglius did not
 begin the reformation in consequence of the indul-
 gences, but upon more important grounds, and before
 the arrival of Samson. See Hotting. vol. vi. p. 201.

An. 1519. is fought in itself; all doctrines are excluded which are not contained in it, and which, consequently, are not necessary to edification.

Remarkable
calumny of
Bzovius
against
Zwinglius.

It is an atrocious calumny which the monk Bzovius * advances, when he says that Zwinglius declaimed with so much violence against the pope, only because he had been driven out of Glaris, and deprived of the annual pension he received from the pontiff. This pension was some money which the pope's legates, who were in Swisserland, had furnished him with for the purchase of books. "I shall not deny," says Zwinglius, "that I formerly received some presents from the pope; but it is long since I renounced them. While I was persuaded that it was just and pious to defend the tenets of the Roman church, I thought it very allowable for me to receive some gratuities from the popes; and here may be seen the knavery of the agents of Rome, who censure in my conduct what they formerly approved."

It was so much the more allowable for Zwinglius to receive gratuities from the pope, as he was made attendant chaplain

* Bzov. An. 1519. sect. 36.

(chapelain-

(*chapelain-acolyte* *) to Leo X. a year before An. 1519. he was called to Zurich, and while he was yet at Glaris. The deed for this purpose is to be seen in Hottinger †; and it is an authentic testimonial of the shining reputation which Zwinglius had acquired by his talents and his virtues.

Eckius continued indefatigable in defaming An. 1520. Luther, who, unable to bear his malice and knavery any longer, broke entirely with him. The enemies of Luther give out that he has adopted the opinions of the schismatics. On the other hand, Emser gave out everywhere that Luther was the admiration of the schismatics of Bohemia, and that this esteem was founded upon the conformity of their opinions. The doctors of Leipfick, in order to outdo the former calumny, bethought themselves of inventing that he was born in Bohemia; that he had been brought up at Prague, and instructed from his infancy in the doctrine of Wickliffe. These rumours, completely false as they were, began to acquire probability

* *Car. Du Fresne Dom. Du Cange*, in glossario. *Acolythi* sedis apostolicæ octo ordinarii, qui cum Pontifex apud lectum paramenti, et similiter in ecclesia est celebraturus, et induitur sacris vestibus, circumstant genuflexi, et ornamenta subministrant diaconis, cardinalibus, &c.

† Virtutibus clarus et meritis, sicut experientia et famæ laudabilis testimonio. See Hotting. vol. vi. p. 275.

An 1520. from a sermon upon the Eucharist which Luther printed. In this he only declared his wish * that the church, assembled in council; would restore the cup to the people. Scarcely had this sermon of Luther's appeared, when all his enemies exclaimed, that no doubt could be longer entertained of his being of the number of the schismatics. The bishop of Misnia censured this production †, and forbade it in his diocese;

* “ Probari sibi, aut desiderare, ut ecclesia per concilium unum universum statueret, ut in sacramento cœnæ utraq[ue] quæ, quam vocant, species populo non minus quam sacerdotibus traderetur.” In short, Luther, who believed the real presence, was at that time of opinion that one kind only was sufficient for the communion, and that the church had the power to oblige the people to content themselves with it; that it was enough, in order to preserve the sacrament of the Eucharist, that the priest took the two kinds in their presence; that, after all, it was not the sacrament that was absolutely necessary, but faith; that it was, however, to be wished that a council would restore the cup to the people, to whom it belonged by the institution of Jesus Christ; not that it was requisite for a perfect communion, but in order fully to represent what the sacrament signifies. He explained himself more particularly the following year, and declared that he had never entertained an idea that any bishop would undertake, upon his authority, to administer to the people in both kinds, unless a general council should order it.

† This bishop was called John Schleinitz; and his ordinance is dated the 24th of January 1520.

and

and George, duke of Saxony, made great complaints of it to the elector. He acquainted him in a letter* which he wrote upon the subject, that since the printing of that sermon, the sect of the Bohemians, who received in both kinds, was augmented by more than sixteen thousand persons; that Luther maintained a secret intercourse with a very heretical pastor of Bohemia; and that he had private conferences with him at Wittenberg. There was great appearance of credulity in that letter. The elector replied with his usual prudence and moderation, declaring that he did not pretend to vindicate any of Luther's writings; that he had explained himself on this head to Cajetan and the Nuncio Miltitz; but that, after all, he could assure his cousin that there were persons of acknowledged learning and piety who did not find any thing censurable in Luther's sermon. It was easy, therefore, for him to defend himself in two works, which he composed upon this occasion.

The first was a species of apology †, under the title of an exposition of his doctrine. In

* The duke's letter is dated the 27th of December 1519.

† This apology was written and appeared in the beginning of January 1520.

Luther is too much irritated to attend to considerations which circumstances require.

this

AN. 1520. this he makes it evident that the * Bohemians could not be heretics for communicating in both kinds, since they did not do it but with the consent of the church; and that as to himself, he could not be one, for having wished that a council would re-establish the use of the cup, unless they presumed to tax Pius II. with heresy, for having wished that the priests were permitted to marry. The other was a refutation of the ordinance of the bishop of Misnia, in which, after testifying respect for the bishop and canons in general, he attacked two or three ecclesiastics whom he believed to be the authors of the censure. The last publication appeared rather late. The electoral court opposed the printing of it, to avoid incensing the pope. Luther, who could not put up with this restraint, complained of it to Spalatinus, and what he

* The Bohemians are distinguished into three classes: those who communicated in two kinds, and agreed in other points with the Roman church; those who were called *Picards*, who denied the real presence; and a third order, whom Trithemius calls *Fossarii*, in German *Grabenheimer*, because they were obliged to assemble in caverns to perform divine service; and it was supposed that they committed various crimes. There is, however, great reason to believe that the Picards and these last were but one and the same society.

says

says upon this occasion discovers his character. “ You are desirous,” *says he*, “ that we
 “ should continue to instruct *. If that be
 “ the case, I do not comprehend what you
 “ mean when you say that it should be done
 “ without offending the pope. The Scrip-
 “ ture condemns, above all, the abuse of sacred
 “ things; and the popes were never able to
 “ endure that the abuses thereof, practised
 “ by themselves, should meet condemna-
 “ tion. I have devoted myself as a sacrifice
 “ in the name of the Lord; his will be done!”
And afterwards, “ let us commit this matter
 “ to God by a prayer full of faith, and let us
 “ remain tranquil. What can they do?
 “ Take away my life? I can lose it only
 “ once. Diffame me as an heretic?—But
 “ was not Jesus Christ condemned by the
 “ wicked?—Every time I meditate upon the
 “ passion of the Lord, I feel a deep concern
 “ that the trial I endure should appear so
 “ great to many people. For this arises
 “ only from our being entirely unaccustomed
 “ to suffer, that is, to live as the disciples of
 “ Jesus Christ. Let them go on,” *continues*
he, “ the more efforts they make to destroy

* The letter is dated the 14th of January.

An. 1520. “ me, the more I deride their vain might. I
 “ am determined to treat the whole with
 “ contempt; and if I were not afraid of in-
 “ volving our prince in my ruin, I would
 “ write without reserve what I think, in order
 “ the more to irritate these furies, and mock
 “ at the extravagant resentment they conceive
 “ against me.”

The emperor was constantly in Spain, taken up with the affairs of that kingdom. He was expected in Germany as soon as they were arranged, and he afforded hopes of his speedy arrival*. It was of consequence that he should be rightly informed of Luther's case before his return; and it was probable he would be the more inclined to listen to him, as this prince could not be ignorant that no one opposed his election more than the pope, who appeared† to have omitted no means for placing the imperial crown on the head of Francis.

Luther writes to the emperor and entreats his protection.

Luther, therefore, undertook to write to the emperor‡. The letter is elegant, hum-

* He writes to this purpose to Frederick by a letter dated the 24th of December.

† It is not without reason this term is employed. The pope in appearance had favoured Francis, but at the bottom his wishes were for another.

‡ The letter is dated the 15th of January.

ble,

ble, and modest, but resolute; and although An. 1520.
 he has strewed it with some encomiums, yet
 it is entirely remote from flattery. After
 having apologized for the liberty taken by
 one of his condition, he represents to the em-
 peror that he had had the misfortune to draw
 upon himself the hatred of the great, by a con-
 duct which seemed to merit their protection;
 that every one knew that if he had published
 some writings, he had been forced to it by
 those who had dragged him, in spite of him-
 self, from his obscurity, and the occupations
 of his monastery, where he devoted himself
 entirely to the duties of his calling; that he
 had, in truth, opposed some opinions, or
 some practices of the church, but that these
 were opinions and practices merely human,
 which had their source only in avarice; that,
 in the mean time, he suffered for three years
 a violent persecution for the gospel, without
 either submissions, or promises of silence, or
 engagements to renounce his errors, as soon
 as he should be convinced of them, being
 able to soften his enemies; that he could no
 longer doubt, after this, their resolution to
 destroy him, and, with him, to destroy the
 truth; that there remained no other resource
 for him but the protection of his imperial
 majesty;

An. 1520: majesty; and that, after the example of St. Athanasius, who had implored the justice of Constantine, he had recourse to that of Charles, being persuaded that God would be pleased to make use of the power of that prince for the defence of his cause; that he therefore conjured the emperor not to refuse his support to the truth which it was the wish of many to oppress; that the only favour he asked for himself was not to be condemned unheard; and that nothing could tend more to cause his memory and his reign to be honoured in future ages, than not to suffer the wicked to trample upon and devour the just.

Luther publishes a solemn declaration of his intention to live and die in the catholic church.

In order, however, to shew that he was neither schismatic, nor disposed to become so, Luther had taken care, before he addressed the emperor, to make a public declaration * that he would live and die in the catholic church. He there declares that he was ready to renounce all disputes in order to occupy himself in more useful works; and to appear before such judges, ecclesiastical or secular, as should be allotted him, pro-

* This instrument is dated the 1st of January, and entitled, *Doct̃oris Martini Lutheri oblatio; sive protestatio.*

vided

vided he had a safe-conduct; and he intreats AN. 1520. the public to forgive his faults, since he had had no other views but the edification of the church, and the manifestation of the truth.

He wrote on the same principle a little time after to the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishop of Mersburg*. The archbishop's reply was the most mild and courteous possible; and this moderation † joined to the ordinance which he had lately published against the mendicant monks, afforded Luther just hopes of meeting with equity and protection from that prelate. But the letter which Erasmus had written to the same archbishop in the preceding year, of which a copy was sent at this time to Luther ‡, produced in him a joy beyond conception. It was, in fact, a justification of his conduct, and a condemnation of his enemies. We cannot avoid giving the substance of it, because it evinces the necessity of the reformation.

He writes on the same subject to his ecclesiastical superiors.

* The letters are of the 4th of February.

† In the answer of the archbishop, Luther is styled *honorabilis et religiosus frater*. In that of the bishop, *venerabilis frater*. The archbishop's answer is dated the 24th of February.

‡ This appears by a letter from Luther to Spalatinus. See epist. 145 and 148.

Erasmus,

An. 1520.

Erasmus's
letter in fa-
vour of Lu-
ther.

Erasmus, who well knew this necessity, would have been overjoyed at contributing to it; but he adopted for the purpose measures conformable to his character, which was mildness and a fear of exposing himself. He wrote, therefore, a letter to Albert*, which he wished to be kept secret; but Ulric of Hutten, who was at the court of Mentz, made it public, and Erasmus felt all the chagrin upon the occasion†, that a prudent man like him is capable of feeling. In this letter he deplores, in very beautiful terms, the infelicity of the church, bending under the yoke of human laws and opinions, and yet more under the tyranny of mendicant monks; whose power was risen to such a height that they were formidable to kings, and to the pope himself. The latter, when favourable to them, they exalted above God; but they trampled on his authority the moment it opposed them. He gives a fine description of the snares which these men lay for

* The letter is from Louvain, dated the first of November 1519.

† This appears from the letter which he wrote to the archbishop of Mentz in the month of October 1520. This letter will be found in the Remarks*, together with that from Luther to Erasmus. They may afford pleasure to readers who do not understand Latin.

* See Note, p. 98.

the

the consciences of others in order to keep An. 1520. them under, and to gratify their own avarice*. He takes notice of the audacity with which they every day invented new tenets, and of their effrontery in substituting fables in the room of christian doctrine. He allows that the progress of superstition was at such a point, that, if a remedy were not applied, it would entirely extinguish christian piety, a spark of which would be no longer visible in the church; that all good persons lamented it, but that they did not dare to do it unless in secret, so formidable was the power of the monks. "These," said he, "are the motives which have induced Luther to oppose the insupportable impudence of some of them: for what other opinion can one entertain of a man who does not seek for honours, and who is not desirous of riches." He next justifies Luther's vehemence by the excess of superstition, as well as of the avarice, ambition, and impostures of the monks; and in order to give a clear idea what they are capable of, he reminds the archbishop of the history

* *Perfrictâ fronte jam cœperunt, missô Christo nihil prædicare, nisi sua nova, et subinde impudentiora dogmata. De indulgentiis loquebantur, ut ne idiotæ ferre possint.*

An. 1520. of Jerome Savonarola *, and of the imposture of Berne. Erasmus had written to the elector of Saxony † nearly in the same terms, adding, “such is the artifice of the
 “monks, that as they see all the learned
 “against them, they endeavour to persuade
 “the people that the languages, eloquence,
 “and literature are the sources of Luther’s
 “heresy, and the props which support it.”

These two letters contributed greatly to the credit of Luther. Erasmus had not taken any side: he was esteemed by all the learned, and passed with reason for a very

* We shall speak, in the sequel of Jerome Savonarola. The imposture of Berne is, that the dominicans got a simple man whom they made believe, and say that he had visions, in which, the Holy Virgin informed him, that the opinion of her immaculate conception was a false opinion. The cause of the imposture was the hatred which the dominicans entertained against the cordeliers who maintained the immaculate conception. Four dominicans, who were convicted of this imposture and of other crimes, before judges appointed by the pope, were burnt. This took place before the reformation in 1509. See Hotting. Hist. Seculi xvi. part. v.

† Erasmus’s letter to the elector is from Antwerp, dated the 14th of April 1519. It is not among the letters of Erasmus, but has been inserted in the first volume of Luther’s works. It serves as a dedication to a little book upon the emperors, which Erasmus had addressed to this prince.

judicious

judicious and enlightened man, by which An. 1520. means the censures of the universities did less injury to Luther than the approbation of Erasmus did him service. And when James Hœstraten, who had great power in the University of Louvain, had procured a censure to be passed * on the works of Luther, after the example of that of Cologne, which, pressed by the legate, had been the first to set it forward; when, I say, these censures appeared, they made little impression; and on the contrary, the replies of Luther were every where received with the greatest applause.

It is well known what these condemnations from universities are, where party and numbers decide. These places were, at that period, almost entirely filled by monks who were the adversaries of Luther; and, although they had been otherwise, who is there that can possibly be ignorant how much the clergy are the slaves of the pope and his benefices. Luther answered the censure from Louvain by an invincible argument; namely, that it had condemned propositions grounded upon Scripture, without replying to any

Luther convers with confusion the two universities of Cologne and Louvain, which had condemned him.

* The censure from Cologne is dated the 30th of August 1519, and that from Louvain the 7th of November of the same year.

An. 1520. one of these passages; so that in order to submit to such a censure, it would be necessary to abandon the Scripture, and to entertain more deference for those divines than for the word of God. But he did not stop there: he reproached them with having rendered themselves the sport and scorn of the world by their unjust, and rash condemnations; that their hatred to, and violent attacks upon the greatest men, were well known every where; that they presumed to traduce Occam, Picus of Mirandola, Valla, Vesselus of Groningen, Faber of Estaples, Erasmus and Capnion: but that all these learned men had lost nothing of their reputation, for having been defamed by persons whose pride and resentment were equalled by their ignorance; that if they had obtained any advantage over any of them, it was not by the force of their reasons, but by their intrigues and the authority of individuals. "It is well known," continues he, "by what means they triumphed over John Hus and Jerome of Prague, in the council of Constance; for, not to speak of the letter which Poggius Florentinus has written on the subject, and of what common report has invariably given out concerning it, the divines them-
 selves

“ selves are of one opinion upon the matter An. 1520.
 “ in their private conversations.” Luther
 was desirous of noticing the artifices made
 use of to destroy these two great men, and of
 the calumnies which were circulated against
 them, for the purpose of persuading the peo-
 ple of the justice of their punishment. Car-
 dinal Adrian, who was then in Spain, had
 approved the censure passed by Louvain.
 Luther had seen his letter; but he had the
 prudence to say nothing against him, whether
 he believed the prelate not to be the author
 of it, or respected the reputation he had ac-
 quired by his great probity, and the credit
 which he possessed with the emperor. The
 letter from Poggius Florentinus * is a com-
 position of too great importance not to be in-
 serted here, although it is to be found in other
 places, and especially in the elegant history
 by my illustrious friend and colleague †.

“ A few days after my return to Constance,
 “ they began to examine into the case of Je-
 “ rome, who was publicly represented as an
 “ heretic. I wish to give you a recital of this
 “ matter, as much on account of its impor-

Letter from
Poggius to
Leonard
Aretin,
upon the
punishment
of Jerome of
Prague.

* The letter is dated from Constance the 30th of
 May 1416.

† See l'Histoire du Concile de Constance par M.
 Lenfant, vol. i. p. 567, et seq.

An. 1520. “ tance, as of the doctrine and eloquence of
 “ the man. I confess I have never heard
 “ any one, who, in defence of a criminal
 “ cause, approached nearer to that eloquence
 “ of the ancients which we constantly admire.
 “ Nothing could be more surprising than the
 “ beauty of his discourse, the force of his
 “ reasoning, the greatness of his courage,
 “ the boldness and intrepidity of his look and
 “ appearance in his reply to his adversaries.
 “ It is to be regretted that so great a genius
 “ should have seceded from the faith, if,
 “ after all, what is said of him be true :
 “ for it does not belong to me to judge of an
 “ affair of such high consequence, and I leave
 “ it to those who are thought to be possessed
 “ of greater knowledge of it than I am.”

“ Do not, however, expect that after the
 “ manner of orators, I am about to give you
 “ a detailed account of all that took place
 “ upon this occasion. It would be much too
 “ tedious. I shall confine myself to the
 “ most memorable transactions, solely to give
 “ you an idea of the doctrine of this per-
 “ sonage. When sundry articles had been
 “ exhibited against him, by which it was
 “ proposed to convict him of heresy, and
 “ upon which, in fact, such decision was
 “ made, it was resolved to summon him
 “ in

* in order to hear his answers*. Having An. 1520.
 “ made his appearance, he was desired
 “ to reply to the articles exhibited against
 “ him. For a long time he refused,
 “ saying, that he desired to plead his cause,
 “ before he replied to the calumnies of his
 “ enemies. But as this was not permitted,
 “ he delivered himself, in the midst of the
 “ assembly †, in the following words :

“ What injustice is this ! For three hun-
 “ dred and forty days have you detained me
 “ in irons, in different prisons, in filth, in
 “ stench, and in want of every thing. Du-
 “ ring that time you have continually listened
 “ to my enemies, and you will not give ear
 “ to me for a single hour. I am by no
 “ means surpris'd that after having afforded
 “ them so long and so favourable an au-
 “ dience, they have had time to persuade
 “ you that I am an heretic, an enemy to
 “ the faith, a persecutor of ecclesiastics,
 “ and a wicked wretch. It is under this pre-
 “ judice that you have condemned me with-
 “ out a hearing, and that you refuse to listen
 “ to me ; nevertheless you are men, and not
 “ gods. As mortals you are liable to err,

* The 23d of May 1416.

† The council of Constance. Vide Lenfant, *ibid*.

AN. 1520. “ to deceive yourselves, and to let yourselves
 “ be seduced by others. It is said that all
 “ knowledge, and all wisdom, is concentrated
 “ in this council. You ought then to take
 “ great care not to do any thing hastily, in
 “ order to avoid committing any injustice.
 “ I well know my death is desired; but,
 “ after all, I am a man of very small im-
 “ portance, and death must come sooner or
 “ later. What I am saying on this occasion
 “ is not so much upon my own account, as
 “ upon yours. It would be extremely un-
 “ worthy of so many great men to determine
 “ any thing unjust against me, and thereby
 “ to set an example of much more dangerous
 “ consequence than death itself.

“ While he was thus speaking with much
 “ grace and force, so violent a tumult arose
 “ among the people that he could not be
 “ any longer heard. It was resolved, there-
 “ fore, that he should reply to the articles
 “ exhibited against him, and that afterwards
 “ he should have free leave to speak. The
 “ articles were read to him one after the
 “ other, and when he was interrogated upon
 “ each, it is not to be believed with what
 “ dexterity and address he replied, and how
 “ many reasons he alleged in support of his
 “ opinions. Never did he advance the least
 “ thing

“ thing unworthy of a good man; info- An. 1520.
 “ much, that if his opinions upon matters
 “ of faith had been orthodox, there was
 “ not the least ground to accuse him, far
 “ less to put him to death. He firmly de-
 “ clared that every thing advanced against
 “ him was false, and invented by his enemies.
 “ When the charge was read, *that he vilified*
 “ *the apostolical see by his slanders, that he had*
 “ *attacked the pope himself, that he was the*
 “ *enemy of the cardinals, a persecutor of the*
 “ *prelates, and a foe to all the christian clergy,*
 “ he raised himself up, and in a plaintive
 “ voice exclaimed, stretching out his hands :
 “ *To what quarter, fathers, shall I turn me ?*
 “ *Of whom shall I implore succour ? Upon whom*
 “ *shall I call to bear witness to my innocence ?*
 “ *Shall it be you ? But, alas ! my persecutors have*
 “ *alienated your minds from me, by saying, that I*
 “ *myself am the persecutor of my judges. They*
 “ *have rightly imagined that if their other accu-*
 “ *sations were insufficient to procure my condem-*
 “ *nation, they possessed an infallible method of op-*
 “ *pressing me, and of exasperating you against me,*
 “ *by falsely representing me as the enemy of you*
 “ *all. If, therefore, you are resolved to believe*
 “ *them, I have nothing to hope.*

‘ He frequently irritated them with rail-
 “ leries, or even sometimes forced them to
 “ smile

An. 1:20. “ smile upon so melancholy a subject, by
 “ giving a ridiculous turn to their objections.
 “ When he was asked what his opinion was
 “ upon the eucharist: *Naturally*, replied he,
 “ *it is bread; during, and after consecration,*
 “ *it is the true body of Christ.* He replied, in
 “ the same catholic manner, upon the other
 “ articles. Some persons having reproached
 “ him with having said, *that after consecration*
 “ *the bread remained bread: Yes*, said he, *that*
 “ *which remains at the baker’s.* He said to a
 “ dominican who was violent against him,
 “ *hold thy tongue, hypocrite;* and to another
 “ who affirmed with an oath what he had ad-
 “ vanced against him: *That indeed*, said he, *is*
 “ *the best mode of deceiving.* One of his prin-
 “ cipal antagonists was present, whom he in-
 “ variably treated with the highest contempt.
 “ But as the matter could not be terminated
 “ that day, on account of the great number of
 “ charges, and their importance, it was ad-
 “ journed to another day. Upon that day,
 “ the other articles having been read and
 “ confirmed by witnesses, *Jerome* entreated
 “ the assembly to give him audience. Hav-
 “ ing obtained it, though not without op-
 “ position, he began by praying to God for
 “ grace so well to regulate his mind and his
 “ expressions as not to advance any thing
 “ that

“ that did not tend to the salvation of his An. 1520.
 “ soul; he then proceeded as follows: *I am*
 “ *not ignorant, O learned assembly, that there*
 “ *have been many excellent men, who, oppressed*
 “ *by false witnesses, have been treated in a man-*
 “ *ner unworthy of their virtues, and condemned*
 “ *by sentences extremely unjust.* This he first
 “ instanced in Socrates, who, being unjustly
 “ condemned by his fellow-citizens, preferred
 “ death to a recantation contrary to his own
 “ conviction, although he had completely the
 “ power of escaping capital punishment by
 “ that means. He next adduced the captivity
 “ of Plato *, the injuries which Anaxagoras †
 “ and Zeno ‡ suffered; the banishment of
 “ Rutilius §, of Boëtius §, and some others.

* This philosopher was sold by order of *Dionysius* the tyrant. *Diog. Laërt.* l. iii. § 19.

† Some say he was banished: others that he was put to death under pretext of impiety. *Diog. Laërt.* l. ii. § 12.

‡ Plutarch relates that Zeno plucked out his tongue and spit it in the face of a tyrant who wished to extort a secret from him. *Plut. Moral.* p. 505.

§ This was the uncle of Cicero; he was banished from Rome in the time of Sylla, who afterwards recalled him, but he would not return. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 32.

§ A Roman consul in the sixth century. Theodoric had him beheaded upon some suspicious †.

† For these five notes see M. Lenfant's *History of the Council of Constance*, p. 570 and 571. I have introduced them here, in the hope that they might be acceptable. M.

“ Passing

An. 1520.

“ Passing then to instances among the He-
 “ brews, he represented that *Moses* had often
 “ been aspersed by the people, as if he had
 “ been an impostor; that *Joseph* had been
 “ sold through the jealousy of his brethren,
 “ and afterwards thrown into prison on false
 “ suggestions; that *Esaïas*, *Daniel*, and al-
 “ most all the prophets had been unjustly
 “ persecuted. He did not forget the history
 “ of *Susanna*. After these examples drawn
 “ from the Old Testament, he passed to those
 “ of the New. He represented to them the
 “ unjust punishment of *John Baptist*, of *Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, and of the greater part of the apos-
 “ tles, who were put to death as impious and
 “ seditious persons. *It is*, said he, *an un-*
 “ *worthy thing that a priest should be unjustly*
 “ *condemned by a priest; but it is the height of*
 “ *iniquity that he should be so by a council and*
 “ *and college of priests.*

“ As the whole matter rested upon wit-
 “ nesses, he maintained that no credit ought
 “ to be given to their deposition, because
 “ they had advanced nothing but what was
 “ false, and had so done only through hatred
 “ and envy. He laid open the causes of this
 “ hatred with so much appearance of truth,
 “ that he was very near bringing the assembly
 “ over

“ over to his side ; and if it had not been an
 “ affair of religion, he would certainly have
 “ been acquitted, so much compassion did he
 “ excite in the assembly. In order to move
 “ them the more, he added, that he had come
 “ of his own free will to the council for the
 “ purpose of justifying himself ; that this was
 “ not the conduct of a man who thought
 “ himself culpable : besides, it sufficiently
 “ appeared by the account which he render-
 “ ed of his life and of his studies, that he had
 “ employed his time in the exercise of vir-
 “ tue, and in useful and pious works. With
 “ respect to his opinions he made it appear,
 “ that at all times the most learned men had
 “ entertained different sentiments upon re-
 “ ligion ; that they had disputed thereon,
 “ not to oppose the truth, but to elucidate
 “ it ; that St. Augustine and St. Jerome
 “ had not always coincided in opinion,
 “ without being for that reason accused of
 “ heresy.

“ As it was expected he would either jus-
 “ tify himself or retract, he declared he
 “ would do neither the one nor the other ;
 “ not the former, because he did not per-
 “ ceive himself guilty of any error ; not the
 “ latter, because it was not for him to retract

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“ the false accusations of his enemies. He
 “ even launched out in the praises of John
 “ Hus, who had already been burnt, calling
 “ him a just and holy man, undeserving of
 “ such a death, and declared that he was
 “ ready to suffer every kind of punishment ;
 “ that he chose rather to yield to the violence
 “ of his enemies, and to the audacity of his
 “ accusers, than to depart from truth as they
 “ did ; being, besides, well assured that they
 “ would have to render an account of it one
 “ day to Him who could not be deceived.
 “ The whole assembly were deeply affected
 “ with grief. They ardently desired to save
 “ so excellent a man, if he had been willing
 “ to ponder on the matter. But, firm in his
 “ resolution he seemed to wish only for
 “ death. He again expatiated in praise of
 “ John Hus, who, as he said, had done no-
 “ thing against the church of God, by cen-
 “ suring the abuses committed by the clergy,
 “ and the pride, the ostentation, and the pomp
 “ of the prelates. *As the revenues of the church*
 “ *are principally designed for the maintenance*
 “ *of the poor, for actions of hospitality, for the*
 “ *building and repair of churches ; this pious*
 “ *man, said he, could not endure that they*
 “ *should be consumed on debauches with women,*

“ c3

“ *on entertainments, on dogs, on horses, on fur- An. 1520.*
 “ *niture, on rich dresses, and in other expenses*
 “ *unworthy of christianity.*

“ He was possessed of such a presence of
 “ mind, and such a firmness, that although
 “ he was interrupted by a thousand clamours,
 “ and was continually harassed, he was never
 “ deficient in reply, and put those who at-
 “ tacked him either to silence, or to the
 “ blush. All were in admiration at his me-
 “ mory which never failed him, although he
 “ had been three hundred and forty days in a
 “ dungeon, without being able to read, or
 “ even to see the light; not to reckon the
 “ inquietudes, the agitations of mind which
 “ would have deprived any other person of
 “ memory. Notwithstanding this, he quoted,
 “ in support of his opinions, such numerous
 “ authorities of doctors of the church, that
 “ one could scarcely conceive he could have
 “ been able to collect them together in that
 “ space of time, although he had even en-
 “ joyed a perfect tranquillity. He had a
 “ strong voice, agreeable, distinct, and sono-
 “ rous: his action was entirely suited to ex-
 “ cite compassion, although he did not wish
 “ for any. In a word, to see his intrepidity
 “ you would have taken him for another
 “ Cato.

AD. 1520. " Cato. O man, truly worthy of immortal
 " fame ! If he entertained opinions contrary
 " to those of the church, I do not praise him
 " in that particular ; but his prodigious
 " learning and eloquence claim my admi-
 " ration. Nature, I fear, bestowed on him
 " these gifts for his destruction.

" A space of two days having been allowed
 " him to change his sentiments, many per-
 " sons, and among others the cardinal of
 " *Florence*, went to visit him in order to try
 " to reclaim him. But having persevered
 " in his errors, he was condemned to the
 " flames by the council. He walked to ex-
 " ecution with a cheerful countenance, and
 " with greater intrepidity than was ever
 " displayed by any stoic. When he arrived at
 " the place of execution, he quitted his gar-
 " ments of his own accord, and, throwing
 " himself on his knees, kissed the stake to
 " which he was to be fastened. He was im-
 " mediately bound, chained and naked as he
 " was, with wet cords. Large pieces of wood
 " were piled round him, intermixed with straw.
 " The fire being kindled he began a hymn,
 " which he continued to sing notwithstanding
 " the flame and smoke. As the execution-
 " er was about to apply the fire to that part
 " of

“ of the pile which was behind him, for fear An. 1520.
 “ he should see it ; *Advance*, said he to him in
 “ the most resolute manner, *and kindle the*
 “ *fire before me ; if I had feared it I should not*
 “ *have come hither, as I could readily have*
 “ *avoided it.* Thus died this man, whose merit
 “ cannot be sufficiently admired. I was a
 “ witness to this catastrophe, and I have
 “ considered all the circumstances of it.
 “ Whether there was knavery or obstinacy
 “ in the business, I cannot tell ; but never
 “ was death more philosophic.

“ I have here given you a long narration.
 “ I thought I could not make a better use
 “ of my leisure than in relating a history so
 “ similar to those of antiquity. *Mutius*
 “ *Scævola* did not behold his arm burning with
 “ more fortitude than this man did his whole
 “ body ; nor did *Socrates* take the poison
 “ with more cheerfulness. But it is enough :
 “ pardon my tediousness. Such a subject
 “ would require a still more ample nar-
 “ ration.”

There sprung up at this period two new
 adversaries* to oppose Luther, but so con-

* These two men were *Paul Bachmann* in Latin
Annicola, abbot of the monastery of *Altencelle*, and a
 cordelier of the monastery of *Leipsick*, who was called
Augustine Alfeldensis.

An. 1520. temptible that no mention would be made of them, unless on account of a particular matter to be found in the answer which Luther returned to one of them. This circumstance is, that there were people still living who remembered to have seen the *pallium* eight times paid for by the archbishop of Mentz. Now, for each *pallium* near thirty thousand crowns were paid, which made a very considerable sum at that time. Leaving to themselves those petty adversaries, who barked in vain against him, Luther conceived a great project in his mind. When he had discovered that the pope's authority was not of divine right, he drew from it a consequence extremely natural; namely, that it ought either to be abolished or moderated. As to its abolition, he entertained, at that time, no sentiment of the kind, either because of its antiquity, or because it might have its use in maintaining the unity of the western church. He, therefore, thought only of moderating that authority, because tyrannical and destructive to the people; and because the avarice and ambition of the court of Rome, encouraged it to support abuses, which were the source of its riches.

In

In order to accomplish so great a design, Luther composed a work * in German which he addressed to the emperor and to the nobility of the empire, in which he saps the foundation of the papal dominion and oppression. These foundations, according to him, were, first, the *privileges* which the clergy assume to themselves over the laity; secondly, the *right* of determining the sense of the Scripture, of which the pope had possessed himself, by which means no interpretation could be received which was not conformable to his interests; thirdly, the *power* of assembling councils and of presiding in them. In this work he attempts to destroy these three foundations. On the first he observes, that between the clergy and laity there was not that distinction which the former arrogate to themselves: and that Jesus Christ having consecrated all the faithful, and having made so many kings and priests from among them, it was lawful for every layman to exercise the ministry in case of necessity. We shall have an opportunity hereafter of explaining his sentiments on this head more fully. Upon the second he proves, that the

An. 1520.
Luther
composes a
work in
which he
saps the
foundation
of the papal
tyranny.

* This work appeared in the month of July.

An. 1520. pope being liable to err as other men, could not determine with certainty, and by his own authority, the sense of the Scriptures. He made it evident upon the third, that to convocate councils is a right of princes, which the popes have usurped over them. He afterwards descends into the detail of the abuses of the court of Rome, and proposes the means of correcting them; but he does all this with an ability, surprising in a man who had been brought up remote from the affairs of the world.

The part of this work most delicate in the handling is the celebrated question of the pretensions claimed by the popes over the empire and the emperors. Luther had not been able to observe, without indignation, that Prierias, treading in the footsteps of so many other slaves of the court of Rome, was changing the papacy into an universal monarchy, by giving to the Roman pontiffs an absolute sovereignty over all states, in virtue of which kings are but their vassals, and enjoy their crowns only through favour of the pope. He knew besides, with what affectation the bishops of Rome boast of having taken the empire from the Greeks, and given it to the Germans; and that under pretence of ho-
mage

mage and acknowledgment, they thought An. 1520.
 themselves entitled to require every thing
 from the German nation. This was the usual
 language of the legates, when they made de-
 mands on the part of the pope. Luther took
 in hand, therefore, to examine that difficult
 question, and exposed the vanity of the pre-
 tensions of the popes, their revolt against the
 emperors, above whom they exalted them-
 selves, although they were their subjects; and
 the unjust and artful means they made use of
 to drain Germany. He admits, however,
 that the pope has a spiritual superiority over
 the emperor (because he preaches the word
 of God and administers the sacraments to
 him), such as St. Ambrose had possessed
 over Theodosius, and Samuel over Saul and
 David; but, exclaims he, “let the emperor
 “shew that he is emperor, really sovereign;
 “that he will not let himself be imposed on
 “by the delusions of Rome; and that he will
 “not suffer the pope to possess himself of
 “his authority, and to wrest from him the
 “sword which God alone has placed in his
 “hands.”

After all, there was nothing in what Lu-
 ther advanced upon the subject of the chime-
 rical pretensions of the popes, which was not
 exactly true, and which had not even been

An. 1520. proved by modern historians extremely attached to popery *. Besides, the emperors were not ignorant of their rights, as Maximilian clearly shewed at the diet in 1507. Meanwhile Luther's work made a terrible noise. The partizans of the court of Rome were in an inexpressible rage at it. Luther's friends trembled for his safety, and clearly saw that, after such an affront, the pope never would forgive him. With respect to success, it is very doubtful whether this work did him more good or harm. In fact it must have been agreeable to the nobility and secular princes, to see him promulgate their rights, and avenge them of the papal tyranny : but, on the other hand, he rendered himself odious to all the clergy of Germany, who were equally numerous and powerful, by striking at their privileges, and placing them on a level with the laity. Be this as it may, as soon as it was known that Luther had composed a thundering work against the pope, he was entreated to suppress it ; but he replied that it was impossible, four thousand copies having been sold since the 17th of August. To this he added †, " We

* See Maimbourg in *the fall of the empire* ; in his *Treatise upon the establishment and prerogatives of the Roman church* ; and in *the life of Gregory the Great*.

† In his letter to Lang, vicar of the Augustins, dated the 17th of August.

“ are persuaded that the papacy is the seat of An. 1520.
 “ antichrist, and that it is allowable for us to
 “ attempt every thing against its impostures,
 “ its seductions, and its knavery.” Mean-
 while, although he expresses himself in this
 manner, it appears by his answer to the cor-
 delier *Augustine Alfeldenfis*, that his design
 was not to throw off the yoke of the Roman
 church, as has been remarked, but to confine
 its authority within just bounds, by declaring
 that its superiority over all the churches was
 not of divine right, and that christian societies
 which did not acknowledge its authority, did
 not therefore make less a part of the church
 of Jesus Christ, and ought not to be regarded
 as heretics and schismatics. Such was his
 declaration at that time, and in the work just
 mentioned. In short, Luther believed * that
 the electoral court was not sorry that he had
 published the work, and that it was even well
 pleased that the pope had received that mor-
 tification.

It is not known what business the elector
 of Saxony had at Rome; but Valentine de
 Teutlebe, who was afterwards bishop of Hil-
 desheim, wrote to him that he ought not to

Letter from
 the elector
 to the pope,
 and from
 the pope to
 the elector.

* This is what appeared by the letter to Lang above
 mentioned.

AN. 1520. be astonished it succeeded so ill, as it was publicly said, that he protected a man who spread abroad new doctrines to the injury of the holy see. At the same time cardinal de St. George (Riari) acquainted him that preparations were making to excommunicate Luther. These letters were undoubtedly written in concert with the pope, who wished to compel the elector to declare himself in an answer*. The prince replied to Teutlebe, that he had never claimed the right to judge of Luther's doctrine, far less did he wish to defend it; that, in fact, he had suffered him to go on upon the assurances he gave to maintain his doctrine in every place where called upon, as soon as he had obtained a safe conduct; and to retract it from the time he should be convinced of error; that he had solicited him voluntarily to quit his dominions, but that Miltitz had opposed it, fearing he would write elsewhere with more freedom. Frederick added a caution which was sufficient to induce the court of Rome not to precipitate the excommunication of Luther. "Germany," he said, "was full of persons
"skilled in all the sciences; that the people

* The answer is dated the first of April.

"testified

“ testified an extreme desire to read the An. 1520.
 “ Scripture, and that if the court of Rome
 “ was absolutely determined to reject the of-
 “ fers of Luther, and to treat his affair with
 “ haughtiness, it ought to dread troubles
 “ difficult to be appeased, and revolutions
 “ which might be as fatal to the pope as to
 “ others.” There is reason to believe Lu-
 ther was concerned in this answer, as the
 letters of Teutlebe and cardinal Riari were
 communicated to him.

Teutlebe did not fail to communicate the
 elector’s answer to the pope; and as that
 prince had protested he should be ex-
 tremely sorry to afford any protection to er-
 ror, Leo pretended to take that declaration
 for a formal condemnation of Luther’s doc-
 trine. Upon this he wrote a letter * to Fre-
 derick quite full of praises, wherein he made
 a doubt which he ought most to admire in
 that prince, his prudence or his piety. He re-
 turned him thanks for having afforded neither
 aid nor protection to Luther, whose portrait
 he drew in these terms: “ He is the wicked-
 “ est and most detestable of all the heretics,
 “ having no other mission than that which

* The pope’s letter is dated the 8th of July, and
 was carried by Eckius.

“ he

An. 1520. "he has received from the devil." The pope concluded with informing the elector, that Luther's doctrine having been condemned in a congregation appointed to examine it, he sent him the bull of condemnation, and that in case Luther should not retract within the time prescribed, he intreated him to secure the heretic.

Luther finds
powerful
protectors
in Germa-
ny.

While proceedings were carried on against Luther at Rome, Providence raised him up protectors in Germany. Sylvester de Schaumbourg, of an illustrious house among the nobility of Franconia, and Francis de Seckengen, a gentleman who possessed great interest in the empire, wrote to him to assure him of their support and friendship. Schaumbourg wrote to him, that he had been informed by persons of worth and learning, that as long as his doctrine was founded only upon Scripture, and submitted to equitable and enlightened judges, he would not fail to be persecuted; that he intreated him not to seek an asylum in Bohemia, because the smallest communication with the Bohemians would render his cause odious; that he offered him a retreat, together with the protection of an hundred gentlemen, with whom he might await in safety the decision of his affair.

It

It was extremely pleasing to Luther to perceive that Providence raised him up friends so much the more faithful, as he had gained them only by the charms of truth, and the justice of his cause. He was not satisfied with informing the elector of it, he wished it to be known at Rome, and requested Spalatinus to tell his master*, that it would be well to mention it when he wrote to cardinal de St. George. Luther's design was to put a stop to the bull, which he knew was preparing against him. He subjoined, nevertheless, "for myself, the lot is cast; I
 "equally despise both the resentment and the
 "favour of Rome. No longer do I wish to
 "cultivate either peace or communion with
 "her; let them condemn, let them burn my
 "books, if they choose it; I will condemn,
 "I will burn in my turn the ordinances and
 "constitutions of the pontiffs, and I will for
 "ever renounce the idea of submissions. I
 "have made too many already, since they have
 "only served to inflame in proportion the
 "bosoms of the enemies of the gospel. . . . I
 "have no doubt however, but that the Lord
 "will complete his work, either by me, or

An. 1520.

These protections induce him to despise the thunders of Rome.

* The letter from Luther to Spalatinus is dated the 10th of July.

" by

An. 1520. "by some other person." He wrote, nevertheless, a little time after to the cardinal de St. Croix, in very different terms. His letter is not to be found among his works, but the substance of it is contained in another which he wrote to Spalatinus on the 23d of August. "He entreated that cardinal to become a "mediator in his cause. He was willing to "yield in every thing except recantation, the "stigma of heresy, and the freedom which "he reserved to himself of teaching the word "of God." Finally, he added, "that he "was in dread neither of censure nor violence; that he had a secure asylum in the "hearts of the Germans; and that it would "behove his enemies to take care, lest in "destroying one adversary, they might cause "many others to spring up."

It might seem astonishing that Luther should have written, almost at the same period, things which appear so opposite. But these variations must be attributed to the uncertainties and agitations which the human mind endures in difficult cases. Struck, at one time, with the tyranny of Rome, and the abuses which she had introduced, or authorized, he was filled with indignation against her, and thought only of breaking with the
 pope,

pope, whom he regarded as antichrist; at another, either fear of danger, or the solicitations of friends, or the hope of a practicable reformation, led him to adopt sentiments of a more moderate kind. This, doubtless, is one of the principal causes of the frequent inequalities which are to be found in the conduct and writings of Luther; and so much the rather as it was known to be a vehemence of spirit which hurried him impetuously to extremes.

In the midst of these perplexities Luther did not cease to write, and all his writings tended to his object, which was, if not to abolish, at least to moderate the authority of the pontiff of Rome. He had perceived at first sight that this authority was so strongly connected with the reigning superstitions, that they mutually supported each other. In fact, the authority of the pope upheld the abuses; it was that which consecrated them, and, by the respect entertained for its decisions, prevented even the examination of them; but, on the other hand, the abuses were, in return, the foundation of the pope's authority; for it was through the influence of superstition that he was master of the consciences and wealth of the people. Luther, therefore,

Luther publishes a book upon the number and nature of the sacraments.

Ann. 1520. therefore, equally adopted the two following measures, namely, sometimes that of opposing the pope's authority in order to destroy the superstitions, sometimes that of destroying the superstitions in order to pull down the authority of the pope. It was the latter of these modes which he pursued in a book which created at first some surprise by the novelty of its title * and subject. He there treats of the sacraments; and as nothing had more contributed to raise and support the authority of the pope and the clergy than the number and efficacy of the sacraments, as well as the exclusive power of administering them, I shall particularize the principal points explained, which are as follow.

He examines, in the first place, the number of the sacraments. The school-divines had made seven of them; to Luther it appeared that, at the most, there were only three: baptism, the eucharist, and penance. He remarked, however, at the conclusion of the work, that penance was not properly a sacrament, because it possessed no visible sign, and that, consequently, the definition of

* *De captivitate Babylonica Præludium Doct. Martini Lutheri.* This book appeared about the month of August in this year.

the schoolmen did not agree with it. He An. 1520. attaches, in a word, little weight to this controversy; and all he attempts to prove is, that the number of seven sacraments is not founded in Scripture *.

He next enters into the examination of each particular sacrament, and handles the subject of communion in both kinds with more nicety than had hitherto been done. He does not, in order to establish his proof, introduce the passages usually quoted from the sixth of Saint John, but shews clearly that it is not the Eucharist which is spoken of in that chapter, the same not being at that time instituted, and that the only thing there treated on is a spiritual and vivifying eating which is peculiar to believers, and performed by faith; which he confirms by these words: “the words which I speak to you
“are spirit and life;” and by those of St. Augustine, “Why do ye make ready the
“stomach and teeth? Believe, and ye have
“eaten.” He insists therefore solely upon Jesus Christ’s own institution, who has appointed the two kinds, as parts equally essen-

* *Non hæc dico*, says he, upon confirmation, *quod damnem sacramenta septem, sed quod e Scripturis ea probari negem.*

An. 1520. tial to the sacrament, and has given to one the title of his body, and to the other that of his blood, in order thereby to represent his passion and death. He insists further upon the communion among the disciples, who received the two signs; upon the commandment of Jesus Christ, “drink ye all of it;” and upon the account given by St. Matthew, who adds: “and they all drank of it.” Upon this occasion he remarks what a matter of triumph it would have been for those who refuse to give the cup to the people, if Jesus Christ had said, “eat ye all of it,” and had said nothing similar on giving the cup; and as it was pretended in the schools, that the disciples had partaken of the two signs because they were priests, he replies, that by following that principle, it must be concluded from it, that Jesus Christ had instituted the supper for priests only; but he adds, that the Lord, by commanding his disciples to drink of the cup which he presented to them, had supported his command with a general reason, which applies to all believers. “Drink ye all of it,” says he, “because this is my blood, the blood of the new covenant *, which is

* *Parce que ceci est mon sang, le sang de la nouvelle alliance*, are the words in which this passage is given by M. de Beaufobre.

“ shed

“shed for many in remission of sins.” For An. 1520. since Jesus Christ directs his disciples to drink of the cup, because it is his blood, a blood upon which the new covenant is founded, a blood which has expiated the sins of all those who shall believe on him, it is evident that this command is not addressed to priests only. With respect to the authority attributed to the church, of being empowered to cut off the laity from a part of the supper, he considers this authority as unjust and tyrannical, and shews that no mortal man has power to deprive a believer of what Jesus Christ hath given him, or to change his institution.

He next proceeds to transubstantiation, and relates that at the time he was studying school-divinity, the disputations of the cardinal of Cambray, upon the fourth book of the sentences of Lombard *, had occasioned him to doubt the truth of this article. From that time it appeared to him more agreeable to reason to preserve the substance of signs than to annihilate them, since it thereby became no longer necessary to suppose a number of superfluous miracles. Meantime the

* Peter Lombard, archbishop of Paris in the twelfth century, well known by the title of the Master of the Sentences, a work in four volumes. *Biograph. Dict.*

An. 1520. decision of the church arrested his doubts, but reflecting afterwards that this decision was novel, that the very word transubstantiation was unknown before the three last centuries, a circumstance which made it evident that the opinion was not of ancient date, and that with respect to the doctrine, it was without foundation in Scripture, he resolved to believe that the bread and wine continued in their natural state * after consecration. He rested upon the language of Scripture which, after the act of consecration, terms the species (*les especes*) "bread and wine;" and upon this argument, that there is not less danger of idolatry in preserving the accidents than in preserving the substance, since the accidents only are visible. As he was an able school divine, he unravels with great address the intricacies of the schools upon this subject.

Luther embraces the doctrine of consubstantiation.

Luther embraced the doctrine of consubstantiation, because he found it less subject to inconveniences than transubstantiation; and if he did not believe, with the Abbé Rupert, that the bread was united to the person of Jesus Christ; he availed himself, nevertheless,

* *Demeuroient recellement.*

of the incarnation to explain his doctrine. An. 1520. He said, that as the divine nature had been “made flesh,” without either flesh or human nature having been transubstantiated into the divinity, the two natures remaining entire, in like manner was the bread made the body of Jesus Christ, without being changed into the substance of that body. In order to be understood, he made use of the comparison of red-hot iron, in which the two substances of the iron and the fire are so intermixed, that wherever the iron is, there also is the fire. He repeated the same thing afterwards in 1522, in his book against the king of England. He did not gain many profelytes to this opinion. If it had not the absurdities of the former, namely, that the accidents subsist without a subject, it was yet encumbered with one of not less magnitude, that is to say, the penetration of bodies, inasmuch as it reduced the body of Jesus Christ to the nature of subtil bodies, such as fire which occupies all the pores of grosser bodies, and which separates their parts. But besides, as it is not said of red-hot iron, this iron is fire, nor this fire is iron, no more can it be said, this bread is the body of Jesus Christ. By these means does

An. 1520. Luther freely allow all the world * the liberty of believing in transubstantiation. He thought otherwise on that subject the following year, and treated transubstantiation as an impious and blasphemous opinion †. He expressed himself in this manner on account of the tyranny of the Roman church ‡, which is desirous of imposing on the consciences of men the necessity of believing what the Scripture has never determined; it being in other respects ||, as he afterwards declared, a matter of small importance which of the two were believed, whether the substance of the bread was annihilated, or whether it remained.

* Permisso tamen aliis opinionem alteram sequi, quia in decretali firmiter statuitur, modo ne urgeant suas opiniones pro articulis fidei acceptari. *De Captiv. Babyl.*

† Nunc autem visis argumentis et rationibus assertionis sacramentorum, decerno impiam esse et blasphemam, si quis dicat panem transubstantiari. *In Lib. contra Reg. Angl. An. 1523.*

‡ Quia Papistæ tantopere hunc errorem urgeant ex propria audacia, ideo se tantum in ipsorum invidiam velle sentire, verum panem et vinum in Eucharistia manere una cum corpore et sanguine Christi. *In Lib. ad eund. An. 1522.*

|| An. 1528 in Confess. Major.

Finally,

Finally, Luther is greatly accused of having varied upon the subject of the eucharist. I shall hereafter make mention of the variations with which he is reproached; but I am far from laying it to his charge as a crime, that he did not adhere steadily to opinions, where, in spite of his best endeavours, he could not find a solid bottom to build on. He laid his foundation, he raised his little edifice; but no sooner had he carried it to some height, than he perceived the foundation to be good for nothing: all was to be done over again. These changes, it must be allowed, supposing them real, certainly infer an incorrectness in judgment, and that truth has not yet been attained; but they indicate at the same time, a man who searches for it, who thinks he has found it, who is mistaken, and who is not ashamed to acknowledge his error. I doubt whether there be a single divine among those who think and examine, who does not often vary in the course of his life and studies. Does any person at the age of sixty entertain exactly the same opinions which he had at thirty? This would be the mark of a little mind. Truth lies so deep, and in searching for it so many things are found which bear a resemblance to

An. 1520.

Luther justified in regard to his variations in opinion upon the subject of the Lord's supper.

An. 1520. it, that it is easy to be mistaken, and to cry, *I have it!* when one has only seized its shadow. We are all of us, more or less, too hasty in our opinions. There is something flattering in the discovery of new truths; they are to the learned, what victories and conquests are to kings. Thus, although Luther, by discovering the falsity of received opinions, may have deceived himself, and substituted in their room opinions which are scarcely more valuable; yet, if in process of time he changed his sentiments, as soon as he perceived his error, far from being censured as culpable, his sincerity merits praise: those only who are infallible have a right to reproach him.

But to come to the point: Luther is censured for having been too changeable on the subject of the eucharist. At first he lays down transubstantiation as the catholics do. He afterwards denies it, and admits consubstantiation. He seeks for the ground of his opinion in the words of the eucharist; he searches for it in the entire presence of the human nature of Jesus Christ; he quits, he resumes the same sentiment. The only fault I find on the occasion, and which people may, if they please, attribute to my prejudices, but which, for my

own

own part, I attribute to his, is that of being but An. 1520.
 too firm, and not of having totally abandoned
 an opinion which he did not know how
 to support. After all, nothing can be more
 excusable than his changes. For if it be
 supposed that the corporeal presence be real,
 Luther has only varied in the manner of ex-
 plaining or defending it: in the opinion itself
 he remains the same. He believed, or wish-
 ed to believe, that the Scripture established
 this presence; but not explaining himself
 upon the mode, he has pursued the subjects
 as others have done, and, in like manner, has
 been mistaken. He could not do otherwise;
 and although he had even been a hundred
 times more ingenious and acute than he was,
 he must have been deceived. He acted like
 those philosophers who endeavour to give
 an account of a phenomenon, known to them
 only through the medium of false represen-
 tation.

From this subject Luther proceeds to the
 sacrifice of the mass. It is the basis of the
 greatest superstitions, and, as it were, the
 chief idol of popery. Although he has but
 slightly touched on this matter, yet he has
 undoubtedly established just and sure prin-
 ciples,

Luther re-
futes the
opinion of
the sacrifice
of the mass.

Ans. 1520. ciples, and drawn from them an argument sufficiently strong against this pretended sacrifice. He remarks, therefore, at first, that there is an essential difference between the nature of a sacrament, and that of a sacrifice; because in every sacrament it is God that gives to man; whereas in every sacrifice, it is man that offers to God, and it is God that receives what is presented to him by man. This is founded on the very nature of things, and proved by the single consideration of all sacraments, and of all sacrifices. He next observes, that the institution of the supper contains nothing which affords the least idea of a sacrifice; that Jesus Christ undoubtedly offered prayers and thanksgivings to God when he took in his hands the sacred symbols, but that he did not present them to God as a victim; on the contrary, he gave them to his disciples, who received them. With respect to the title of sacrifice which the ancients have given to the eucharist, that they have so done only because they took into view either the prayers which accompany the celebration of the eucharist, or the usage of the primitive church, which celebrated the Lord's supper with a part of the bread and wine
which

which were offered by believers, or finally, An. 1520. because the supper is the commemoration of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

From this principle, that the mass is not a sacrifice, he draws two consequences. The first, that mass cannot be celebrated for any but those who communicate; because the eucharist being only the sign and seal of the promises of God, no one can receive that sign and seal for another; and that it is not less absurd for a priest to communicate for the people, than it would be for a priest to be baptized for the people. The second, that yearly obits, masses for the dead and for the living who are absent, and of course the foundations for them, ought to be abolished: this was, in fact, utterly to destroy that infinite multitude of priests and monks who were of no other use than to repeat masses.

What he advanced in the article of baptism, upon the efficacy of the sacraments, is worthy of remark. The schoolmen had imagined that there existed in the sacraments a virtue which justifies, that is to say, which actually sanctifies all those who receive them, provided there be no real and present obstacle. Luther asserts on this head, that it is not properly the sacrament which justifies those

Consequences of this refutation.

His opinion upon baptism.

AN. 1520. those who receive it, but the faith which they have in the promises of God; that circumcision did not justify Abraham, because he was already justified by the faith he had before circumcision; that in like manner St. Paul calls that circumcision “the seal of the righteousness,” or of the justification which Abraham had already obtained by faith. “It is thus,” proceeds Luther, “that baptism neither justifies, nor is of value to any one; the whole efficacy proceeds from the faith a person has in the promises of God, to which baptism is added, because it is this faith which verifies and accomplishes that which is represented by baptism. It is faith which plunges the old man into the water, and causes the new man to rise out of it.” And in the sequel: “It cannot therefore be true that there is in the sacraments an efficacious virtue which justifies, or that they are the effectual signs of grace. It may nevertheless be still said that the sacraments are of efficacy, because, if faith accompany the use of them, they confer grace in the most effectual and most certain manner.” These latter expressions rectify whatever may have been too strong in the former, “baptism is of no value to

“ any one,” and make it evident that Luther’s An. 1520. opinion is reducible to this, that there is no physical or natural virtue in the sacraments, which produces the grace of charity or righteousness in the heart, and that all their efficacy proceeds from the faith which ought to accompany the use of them.

Luther proceeds yet to other points, which were still better examined in the sequel. We shall only add, that judging at that time, from the principal object of baptism, as being less a symbol of the remission of sins, than of the death and spiritual resurrection of a believer, he could have wished that the ancient ceremony of immersion had been re-established. Not, however, that he thought it absolutely necessary; but because, according to his judgment, it would have been well to preserve the entire and perfect sign of our new birth, and to conform in every particular to the institution of Jesus Christ. He added at the conclusion of his treatise these lines which appear to be addressed to the pope :

*Hostis * Herodes impie,
Christum venire, quid times ?*

Non

* This is the beginning of an hymn written by *Sedulius*, which is sung in the Roman church at the epiphany.

*Non arripit mortalia
Qui regna dat cœlestia.*

Finally, there is in that book, upon the article of the sacrament of orders, this opinion, that every christian, in right of his baptism, has the power of consecrating the eucharist, although he ought not to use it unless in cases of necessity. He asserts the same in another place*.

Miltitz renews his attempts to effect a reconciliation between Luther and the pope.

While Luther was publishing, in succession, these different works, Miltitz continued his best efforts to accomplish the object of his mission; and as he had his interest to consult on all sides, he would have been extremely well pleased to satisfy the pope, on

epiphany. And in order to give in French the sense of these lines, they might be thus translated :

Herode impie et sanguinaire,
Pourquoi crains-tu le Christ qui veut naître en ces lieux ?

Celui qui donne à tous le royaume des cieux,
N'envahit point ceux de la terre.

Say impious Herod, sanguinary King !

Why shakes thy guilty soul with coward fear ?
What tho' the Christ, whom ancient prophets sing,
Within these realms in mortal guise appear ;
Yet learn, the hands that heavenly crowns bestow,
Stoop not to seize the dross of those below.

* See *Hosp. Hist. Sacram.* p. 20. col. i.

whom

whom his fortune depended, without dis- An. 1520.
obliging the elector of Saxony, from whom
he received a pension at Rome. Influenced
by these sentiments, he sought every possible
expedient to reconcile Luther with the pope.
The archbishop of Treves was a prince in
the good graces of all parties. The pope
was by no means displeased that he should
determine on Luther's case, nor Luther that
he should be his judge. For these reasons
Miltitz unceasingly solicited the archbishop
to send for Luther to Coblenz, because as he
continued to preach and to write, the evil
became every day more difficult to cure, and
the pope more incensed*. But the arch-
bishop, fearing to commit himself with the
court of Rome, which had not sent him any
instructions; or with the powers who in-
terested themselves in the reputation and
safety of Luther; wished to refer the exami-
nation of this dispute to the next diet which
Charles the Fifth was to assemble at his re-
turn from Spain, promising moreover, that,
in case the emperor did not arrive speedily,
other methods should be devised to remedy

* There are two manuscript letters on this subject,
from the archbishop to Miltitz, one dated the 5th of
February, and the other the 4th of March.

An. 1520. the evil. Miltitz, therefore, not being able to obtain any thing from the archbishop, applied himself to the elector of Saxony and to Luther. He intreated the elector* to prevent the publication of a book which Luther was then preparing, and which, according to what was said of it, would lower the court of Rome so much that she could never recover it. This book was the work addressed to the emperor and the nobility of the empire, of which mention has been already made. But the elector informed him that the book was already published; and that not having known of the printing of it, he had been unable to prevent it: whereupon Miltitz, who was then at Halle in Saxony, proceeded to Isleben, where the chapter-general of the Augustins was to assemble on the 29th of August, being the feast of St. Augustine.

He persuades the chapter of the order of the Augustins to join with him in prevailing on Luther to satisfy the pope.

It was here that the nuncio represented to these monks, how much it was the interest of their order to reconcile Luther with the pope; the shame that would result on the whole body of the Augustins if one of their members were disgraced by the crime of he-

* The letter from Miltitz to the elector is dated the 19th of August.

refy,

refy, and excommunicated by the pope; the An. 1520. glory which would, on the contrary, be gained by the assembly, if it were able to triumph over the obstinacy of Luther, and to bring back to his holiness a revolted subject, whom no one had been able to reduce to obedience; the gratitude which the holy see would feel on the occasion; and the service, in short, which they would render to the church, menaced by a schism which could not prove fatal to the papacy without being so to all the monks, whose privileges had no other support than the authority and protection of the sovereign pontiffs.

The fathers resolved to send a deputation to Luther consisting of John de Staupitz, who had resigned the vicarship, and Venceslaus Linccius, who was invested with it, both able men, possessed of authority in the order, and in habits of friendship with Luther. Miltitz charged them with a very courteous letter, in which he conjured Luther to yield to the persuasions of his brethren, and assured him that he would have been happy to accompany them, if he had not been afraid of exposing himself in a place where a pope's nuncio

The chapter
sends a de-
putation to
Luther.

An. 1528. nuncio would be looked on with an evil eye.

He promises to write a submissive letter to the pope.

Staupitz and Linccius arrived at Wittemberg, attended by some other monks. They agreed that Luther was in the right, and condemned with him the superstitions of the age. But, after all, said they, obedience must be yielded to the pope, to prevent bringing upon yourself the vengeance of so formidable a power. The persuasions of these persons had formerly had much influence on Luther's mind, at the time he appeared before Cajetan: they had scarcely less now; and he was at last prevailed upon to agree to write a submissive letter to the pope, in which he would promise him a filial obedience. Miltitz was overjoyed at the success of this negotiation; but Eckius having in the meanwhile arrived from Rome, and having brought with him the bull of which we shall speak hereafter, Luther altered his sentiments and acquainted Spalatinus*, that not having yet written the letter promised by him, he had now entirely resolved against writing it.

* The letter from Luther to Spalatinus is dated the 3d of October.

Miltitz,

Miltitz, who was then at Leipſick, hearing that Eckius had arrived in the capacity of Nuncio, and that he was charged with the bull againſt Luther, was extremely chagrined at ſeeing his ſchemes diſconcerted, and at being ſupplanted by Eckius, who, no doubt, had done him diſſervice at Rome. He immediately ſought an interview with Luther *; and promiſed the court of Saxony, that, in caſe the latter would adhere to the plan agreed upon with the Auguſtins, he would procure the bull to be either recalled or moderated, before the term of one hundred and eight days, allowed by it to Luther, had expired. Luther conſented to the interview, which took place at Lichtenberg on the fourteenth of October †; and Miltitz, who expected to ſee him extremely enraged, was ſo ſurpriſed at finding him eaſy and cheerful, that he ſtated to the elector that it

An. 1520.

Miltitz has an interview with Luther, who again promiſes to write the letter.

* He wrote for that purpoſe to the counſellor of the elector, Fabian de Feilitſch, on the 2d of October.

† The MSS. accounts, by Miltitz and Wolfgang Reiſſenburg, ſpecify the eleventh; but there is a letter from Luther to Spalatinus of the thirteenth, which mentions that he is juſt upon ſetting out to meet Miltitz at Lichtenberg. The account given by Miltitz is dated the 14th, and addreſſed to the elector.

A a

could

An. 1520. could only be *through an inspiration of the Holy Spirit*, which was willing at length to favour the reconciliation. They came to an agreement that Luther should write to the pope, in twelve days, a humble and submissive letter, under pretence of sending him a book he was employed upon, and that this letter should be dated the 6th of September, in order that it might not appear to be written since the arrival of the bull, or extorted through fear of excommunication. Miltitz added in his account of this conference that he should completely prevent the matter from going according to the will of Eckius and those of his faction, and that they should have the mortification of seeing the revocation of the bull, which they prided themselves on having obtained. It was his intention at that time to go himself to Rome, in order to get there before the expiration of the hundred and eight days, and to negotiate with the pope upon the spot. No one will be displeased to find that he applied to the elector for money to procure patrons at Rome; for forty or fifty florins for Pucci, cardinal of Santiquatro; and likewise for some medals for the young cardinals.

Luther

Luther wrote to the pope according to his promise. His letter is too flattering to Leo, but so disgraceful to the court of Rome, as to make it seem astonishing that Miltitz would venture to take upon himself the office of sending it to the pope. This letter was accompanied by a treatise upon *christian liberty*, which turned entirely upon the clearing up of these two propositions, contradictory in appearance to each other: “The christian is master of all things, and is subject to no one: the christian is the slave of all things, and subject to every one.” They are comprised in some degree in these words of St. Paul *: “Although I am free, I make myself the slave of all.” The design of this work is not so much to oppose the ecclesiastical laws and external ceremonies, as the opinion of righteousness and merit attached to them. And as it appeared to Luther, that by establishing justification by faith only, the merit of works would be completely destroyed, he set out with that doctrine. The substance of this work will be seen in the Remarks †.

An. 1520.

He writes to the pope and accompanies his letter with a treatise upon christian liberty.

* 1 Cor. ix. 19.

† Vide page 98.

An. 1520.

Complaints
of Luther's
enemies
upon this
book.

As tyrants cannot endure that any one should talk of liberty, and consider as rebellion even the very sighs that are breathed for it, this book of Luther's excited great murmurs among his adversaries. They exclaimed every where that he was a seditious person, who endeavoured to raise commotions among the people, who wished to overturn all the laws, to destroy the ecclesiastical discipline and ministry, and to introduce confusion into church and state ; that he was besides an open enemy to good works, and aimed at forming a sect of profane libertines. It will be seen, by the extract from his book *, how far he was from entertaining these sentiments. It must, however, be allowed, that he was not sufficiently circumspect in his expressions ; and that inexcusable exaggerations sometimes escaped him, which gave a handle to his enemies. He was a daring genius, that delighted in paradox. But, with this exception, the liberty which he inculcates, is a liberty perfectly free from any thing vicious ; and Rome would have been able to relish his doctrine, or at least to tolerate it, if she had

* Vide p. 98.

been

been capable of that simple moderation which An. 1520.
her interest required.

Miltitz received Luther's letter, together Conclusion
of Miltitz's
negotiation;
his death.
with his book. This was the close of his
negotiation, from which he derived neither
profit nor honour. The court of Rome was
of opinion that he had degraded his rank by
the adoption of measures approaching to
meanness, and which inspired Luther with
courage. It is certain that he was not
esteemed in Saxony; but this was owing to
the irregularity of his manners, and not to
any defect of prudence in his negotiation.
Even Luther himself has borne this testimony
in his favour, that if the archbishop of
Mentz, and then the pope, had, like him,
censured Tetzels and the collectors, the refor-
mation would have fallen to the ground of
its own accord. Luther offered to be silent,
and submitted himself to the pope; it re-
mained only to accept his offers, to impose
silence on both parties, and to let the affair
drop into oblivion. Miltitz retired, and,
soon after died. There are accounts which
relate that he was drowned in passing the
Rhine, after a debauch, and that five hundred
ducats were found on him.

An. 1520.

It ought not, in fine, to be forgotten that the book of rates of the Roman chancery was reprinted at this period. Doctor d'Espence * makes mention of it in his commentary upon the epistle to Titus, chap. 1. " You will
 " there become acquainted with more crimes
 " than in all the *summaries* of the casuists, in
 " which these doctors have taken the pains to
 " collect them ; and you will see, moreover,
 " the liberty of committing these crimes of-
 " fered to many, and absolution to all who
 " commit them, because they purchase this
 " absolution and this liberty. I do not wish
 " to enumerate them : their very names
 " make one tremble."

Eckius goes
 to Rome,
 and obtains
 from the
 pope a let-
 ter of ex-
 communi-
 cation
 against Lu-
 ther.

After the famous disputation of Leipfick, Eckius, who thought only of reaping the fruits of his imaginary victory, and of assuring his triumph by the condemnation of Luther, repaired to Rome under pretext of a cause which he had there, and which he carried by favour, although, by his own confession †, the

* Doctor Claude d'Espence was a divine of eminence in the 16th century, and composed several excellent works. Vide *Moreri*, tom. iv. p. 213. M.

† Eckius confesses this in a letter written by him from Rome on the 30th of March 1520, which is to be met with in the first volume of Luther's works.

right

right was not on his side. Having boasted An. 1520. of his zeal, and the advantage he had obtained over Luther and Carlostadius in the same proportion as he exaggerated their heresies, and the necessity for condemning Luther at least, the pope, importuned by the monks, had the weakness to appoint a congregation for that business. Prierias and Eckius were summoned, and in order that no one of Luther's chief adversaries should be wanting, Cajetan had himself conveyed thither, although extremely indisposed. The matter of condemnation was easily agreed upon; it was only upon the manner that any difference of opinion existed. The divines were desirous of proceeding directly to excommunication, because Luther's heresies were notorious from his books. The canonists, on the other hand, chose to begin by citing the offender; self-defence being a natural right, and inviolable upon the principles of equity. They took, at length, a middle road, which was to condemn Luther's doctrine, it being well known, and to allow him time to retract. When it became necessary to draw up the bull, sharp contests arose between the cardinal of Ancona, and the

An. 1520. cardinal Datario *. They had each of them prepared a rough draft; and both the one and the other was so desirous of having his own adopted, that the pope had much difficulty to appease them, and to bring them to an agreement. He preferred that prepared by the cardinal of Ancona, after making several alterations, and holding four consultations, in the space of ten days. The bull was dated the 15th of June, in the eighth year of Leo's pontificate. Luther says, in his answer to the divines of Louvain, that it was certain the whole was transacted with great confusion, and in spite of the strong opposition of the cardinal of St. Croix, and many others.

Abstract of
the pope's
bull.

The pope begins his bull by addressing himself in very pathetic terms to Jesus Christ, to St. Peter, to St. Paul, and in short, to all the saints. He represents to

* *Il Datario* is a great officer in the court of Rome, who is the dispatcher, register, and dater of the pope's briefs or bulls. *Torriano*.

All petitions for benefices not exceeding 24 ducats revenue, pass this officer without his speaking of them to the pope; but those for benefices of greater value, and of dignity, he takes to the pope for his signature, and then adds the date in these terms: *Datum Romæ apud*, and whence his title of *Datario*. See *Collier* and *Moreri*. M.

them

them the miseries endured by the church, An. 1520. and how much it concerned them to succour it. He then collects against Luther all the most odious terms that can be thought of, even so far as to call him another Porphyry, since, as the former had presumed to gainsay the holy apostles *, so did this man dare to oppose the holy pontiffs of Rome; and that despairing of being able to defend his cause by reason, he betakes himself, after the custom of heretics, to reproaches, the last resort of persons of that description, according to the remark of St. Jerome. The pope next exaggerates the extreme grief under which he labours, so great indeed as scarcely to leave him the power of speech; but which is yet increased, whether he considers the nature of the heresy, which is the same as that of the Greeks and Bohemians, that is to say, which wounds the universal and infallible authority of the pontiff of Rome; or whether he adverts to the German nation, afflicted by it: a nation, continues he, always so dear to his predecessors, that they had introduced it into the bosom of their affection, had honoured it

* This is an anachronism of more than two hundred years, Porphyry having lived towards the close of the third century.

with

An. 1520. with empire taken from the Greeks; a nation which, always inviolably attached to the holy see, has signalized its zeal * for the defence of the church and the catholic truth, evidenced by proofs to be found both in the ordinances of the emperors against heretics, which have been confirmed by the holy see, and in the punishment of the perfidy of John Hus and Jerome of Prague in the council of Constance; and lastly, in the battles wherein the Germans have so freely shed their blood against the heretics of Bohemia.

Passing on to the doctrine of Luther, he condemns forty-one of its articles, as full of deadly poison, and highly pernicious; capable of seducing the pious, contrary to the love and respect due to the holy Roman church, the mother of all believers, the mistress of faith; and contrary to that obedience which is the source and origin of all the virtues, and without which every christian is an open rebel. This last argument is one of the war horses of the popes, who generally make use of it under the name of St. Augustine, (and, if I am not mistaken, of St.

* Quod quidem Germanos, catholicæ veritati, vere Germanos (advocatos) constat hereticorum accerrimos oppugnatores semper fuisse.

Gregory,)

Gregory,) applying to the blind obedience An. 1526. to the pontiffs of Rome, what those fathers have said concerning the spirit of obedience towards God; in like manner as they apply to the same church all that the scripture has said respecting the church and the society of true believers.

The pope, after having condemned Luther's doctrine, prohibits all kinds of persons, of whatever rank they may be, whether civil or ecclesiastical, monastic or secular, from listening to, preaching, or favouring that doctrine, under pain of excommunication, degradation, and infamy, together with privation of their fiefs. He denounces the same penalties against those who shall possess, read, or retain the works of Luther, and who shall not commit them to the flames.

In the next place, the pope states with how much patience he had borne with Luther. After summoning him to Rome, he had invited him with kindness, he had exhorted him both by letters, and by his legates, to become obedient; and he had offered him money, and a safe conduct for the security of his person. If he had come, continues the pope, he would, no doubt, have acknowledged his errors, and would not have found

A.n. 1520. so many defects in the court of Rome, against which he spreads such injurious reports : and we should have convinced him that our holy predecessors have never erred in their ordinances ; because, according to the prophets, neither the *balm* nor the *physician* are ever wanting in *Gilead*. Jerem. viii. 22. But instead of obeying, he has persevered, for more than a year, in his state of obduracy, notwithstanding the censures issued against him ; and to complete the mischief, he has dared to appeal to a council.

In the last place, the pope, informed of the state of affairs in Germany, endeavours to regain Luther by a very pathetic exhortation, and by the hope of pardon, allowing him and his adherents sixty days to be converted, to retract their opinions, and to experience his clemency. But upon this term being expired, in pursuance of the apostle's doctrine, which directs, that " an heretic be " avoided," the pope orders all persons, of what rank soever, to apprehend Luther and his adherents, and convey them to Rome, promising a recompense proportioned to so great a service ; lays every place under an interdict to which Luther shall have retired during his continuance therein, and for three
days

days after his departure ; commands that all his books be burned, as well those already written, as those which he shall hereafter write ; forbids any one to read, print, or even to value or praise them ; subjects to all the penalties therein contained, whoever shall oppose the publication or execution of his bull, on which he bestows titles * favouring more of bombast, than of apostolical simplicity and charity.

This bull, did little honour to the pope. Its style was such as pervaded all the bulls of Leo, made up of periods so long and so interrupted by parentheses, as to render the reading of it more tiresome and fatiguing than can be expressed. This was, however, its least fault ; it was full of tragical exclamations, and puerile amplifications, which, far from rendering it affecting, only made it contemptible. It could not be conceived how a pope, plunged in luxury and dissoluteness, could be afflicted with such violent grief as he represented, since he had never, even for

An. 1520.
Censure
upon the
bull.

* *Paginæ nostræ damnationis, reprobationis, rejectionis, decreti, declarationis, inhibitionis, voluntatis, mandati, hortationis, obsecrationis, requisitionis, monitionis, assignationis, confessionis, subjectionis, excommunicationis, anathematizationis.*

a moment,

An. 1520. a moment, suspended the amusements of the court. It was found that this bull justified what Luther had advanced respecting the tyranny of the popes, because nothing could be more tyrannical than to condemn princes ecclesiastical and secular to lose their wealth and dignities, if they afforded the least protection to Luther, although his doctrine had not as yet been judicially condemned. To this was added, that it was absurd to give the title of *a learned refutation of the works of Luther**, to the censures of Cologne and Louvain, which were only simple extracts from his books, accompanied by a condemnation destitute of every kind of proof; that it was an act of blind passion to burn all the books of a man, without any distinction, even those which were purely works of devotion; but that it was carrying violence to the highest pitch, to order at the same time all his future compositions to be burned. Finally, there was remarked in this bull a vain and tiresome exaggeration of the papal power, and a vague and undeterminate condemnation of Luther's propositions, which

* Non minus docta quam vera et sancta confutatio, reprobatio & damnatio.

were respectively stiled false, heretical, &c. AN. 1528. without distinguishing which of these epithets agreed to each of the propositions; and it was asked on this head, whether the Holy Spirit, speaking by the pope, had not been able to make that distinction, or whether it had not chosen so to do? Either of these was found equally unworthy of it. Ulric de Hutten had this bull printed with notes full of poignancy, wherein he displays all its defects, and charges the pope and the court of Rome with all the outrages committed upon Luther. He closes his remarks with these words of the second Psalm: "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their yoke from us." A modern author* has imagined, but without foundation, that it was Luther who had applied these words to himself; and he thence takes occasion to put into action all the talents he possessed for declamation.

Ulric de Hutten sprung from an illustrious house in Franconia, and was born in 1488 at Stockfberg in that province. Joining the love of letters to the accom-

Character of
Ulric de
Hutten.

* The bishop of Meaux.

plishments

An. 1520.

plishments of a soldier and a courtier; an eloquent orator, an ingenious poet, and an excellent lawyer, he had early contracted a dislike to the bad taste which reigned in the schools, to the useless learning then in vogue, to the rusticity, the haughty and uncourteous manners, the pride, the tyranny, and the ignorance of the divines and monks, which he has painted in an ingenious and lively manner *. He derides the ridiculous vanity of his times in despising men of real learning, because they have not the title of masters or doctors. He was acquainted with the errors which scholastic divinity had introduced into religion during the three last centuries; and he observed with reason, that, in departing from the ancient system of divinity, they had extinguished true religion; and banished the true worship of the divinity, to substitute in its room superstitions the most fatal to the church and to society. Nothing appeared more unaccountable to him, than to see persons, who, quitting the doctrine of the apostles to follow that of Aristotle, did not the less readily apply to themselves every

* Hutten ep. ad Crotum Reubeanum. Apud Van de Hardt, Hist. Lit. Reform. pars 1.

thing

thing which Jesus Christ has said in favour of An. 1520.
 his disciples, and boast of being “ the light of
 “ the world and the salt of the earth.” They
 have even the presumption to call themselves
 “ our masters,” says he in a letter written in
 1518, “ perhaps * because they receive our
 “ confessions, are acquainted with the coun-
 “ sels of princes, and extract, with address,
 “ from women the whole of their secrets;
 “ this is quite sufficient ground for them to
 “ boast of superior knowledge to us; and
 “ they have good reason for procuring to
 “ themselves the appellation of masters from
 “ their disciples, and of fathers from their
 “ children.” He relates, in the same place,
 the saying of Alexander VI. that he would
 rather wage war with a powerful prince, than
 with a monk of the order of mendicants;
 and the complaint made by Pius II. that the
 monks were the cause of the schism in
 Bohemia.

* Forte quia confessiones audiunt, et concilia regum et principum ediscunt, deinde muliercularum quoque secreta nimis avide rimantur; ut se idcirco plus omnibus sapere credant, et non immerito à discipulis magistri, a filiis patres (proh dolor!) salutentur. Ibid.

B b

Eckius;

A.D. 1520.

Eckius
brings the
bull of ex-
communi-
cation into
Germany.

Eckius, invested with the new dignity of nuncio, was charged with the bull just mentioned; but he did not meet with the applause he expected in Germany. At first he boasted of having procured the condemnation of Luther; but perceiving that his violence was disapproved by every equitable monk, he suddenly changed his tone, and endeavoured to have it thought that he had been rather the apologist, than the accuser of his adversary. This last measure succeeded worse than the former; for he was convicted by his letters of having been the most violent advocate for the bull; and as it was at Leipfick that he entered into contest, and hoped to receive the crown of victory, so it was there he was treated with the utmost disrespect. The duke George forbade the senate to allow the publication of the bull, without the express order of the bishop of Mersburg; and when it made its appearance, the people and the students tore it to pieces, and cast it into the dirt. As for Eckius, he had the mortification of seeing libels posted up in the most public places in which he was strangely depicted, and of hearing satirical songs sung about in ridicule of

of his pride and improper conduct. They An. 1520. even threatened to treat him as a person who had gone to seek, at Rome, the brand which was to set fire to Germany. He was therefore under the necessity of retiring into the convent of the Dominicans, where he dared not let himself be seen by any one ; so much had his boldness and resolution of mind forsaken him. Thus was this man, who had entered Leipstick in triumph, breathing, like another Saul, only menaces and destruction; overwhelmed with contempt and shame, and loaded with public hatred, in the same spot where he had boasted of having obtained, the year before, one of the most memorable victories of the school. Having withdrawn from Leipstick during the night, he took the road to Friburg, passed on to Erford, and presented the bull to the university. But it was rejected there, under pretence of some defect in point of form ; and he beheld it torn to pieces and thrown into the water, the students having actually beset him in his dwelling. The bishop of Bamberg made the same objections as the university of Erford. That of Eckstadt, to whose chapter Eckius belonged, was the first who published it. The university of Mersburg waited until

An. 1520. the month of April of the following year; and that of Misnia, the most violent of all against Luther, did not publish it until the 7th of January. Two manuscript letters have been handed down to us* from a monk of Venice, named Burchard, of the illustrious house of the Barons of Schenk in Thuringia. In the first, he writes, that the bull was not published at Venice until the festival of Easter 1521, and that the senate had caused almost all the people to withdraw before it was read. In the second, he observes, that Luther was greatly esteemed at Venice; that his books were sought after with great eagerness; and that his doctrine and his conduct were highly praised.

The bishop of Brandenburg dares not publish the bull at Wittenberg.

It was the duty of the bishop of Brandenburg, in whose diocese Wittenberg was, to publish the bull in that city. He went thither with the elector of Brandenburg, and Albert duke of Mecklenburg. He thought that being accompanied by these two princes, he might undertake it without risk. But having observed the esteem this city entertained for Luther, and having heard the

* M. de Seckendorf gives an account of these two letters.

elector

elector and the duke his brother speaking of An. 1520. him in very high terms, he became of opinion that he ought not to undertake so odious a business, and departed without doing any thing.

Luther saw the bull, and held it in contempt. He lost nothing of his usual cheerfulness. Not to neglect, however, the precautions necessary for his safety, he was of opinion that he ought to apply* to the elector who was then at Aix, where the emperor was crowned in the month of October, to obtain of his imperial majesty a rescript prohibiting any one from condemning him, as he had not been convicted of error by the scripture. He commissioned Spalatinus to make the proposal to the prince his master. But when he had learned, by a letter from Erasmus, that the emperor was beset by the monks, and much prejudiced against him, he changed his sentiments, and represented to Spalatinus† that the elector ought not to be exposed to a refusal; that it would be better he should appear entirely unacquainted

Luther is not terrified at this thunderbolt, and despises it.

* The letter which he wrote to Spalatinus on this subject is dated the 3d of October.

† The letter is dated the 13th of October.

An 1520. with the bull, and should treat it with contempt. For his own part, he assured him he should esteem himself happy to suffer persecution for the truth; that the ill treatment he received from Rome, far from terrifying him, served only to raise his courage, and to confirm him in the opinion that it was the seat of antichrist.

Luther publishes a work wherein he exposes the hypocrisy and vices of Eckius, and the tyranny and injustice of Rome.

After taking these steps, Luther attacked Eckius in a work written in German, wherein he exposed the vices and hypocrisy of this man, cleared himself from the accusations which the former had spread abroad against him, took decidedly the part of John Hus, whose books he had read, and declared that he repented having abandoned him in the disputation at Leipfick, not being at that time acquainted with his sentiments. He then renewed his appeal* to the council, founded upon these new grievances, that the pope had condemned him without a hearing; that he commanded him to renounce the faith taught in scripture, without proving him wrong in his explanation of it; that he decided on matters with which he was unacquainted; and that, lastly, he tyrannized

* This new appeal is dated on the 17th of November.

over the church, in condemning those who An. 1524.
 appealed from his decisions to a general
 council. On these grounds he considers the
 pope as a tyrant, an apostate, and as anti-
 christ; conjures the emperor and the states
 of the empire to take his appeal into con-
 sideration, and to suspend the execution of
 the bull, until he should have been heard and
 convicted of error by scripture. But he did
 not stop there: he attacked the bull in
 two thundering writings*. In the first, he
 passes censure on it, and in the second he
 defends the propositions which were con-
 demned in it.

Of the first of these works, we shall only
 mention the following particulars:—The
 pope alleged that he had sent him an offer
 of money for the purpose of repairing to
 Rome; he replies that this was untrue, and
 that Cajetan, who, as he pretended, had made
 the offer, lived at Augsburg in such extreme
 poverty that it was publicly said, he starved
 his domestics with hunger: but this, perhaps,
 was less through indigence than avarice.

Two new
 writings of
 Luther's,
 more violent
 than the
 former.

* The first of these works is entitled, *Adversus execrabilem antichristi bullam*; the second, *Affertio omnium articulorum Martini Lutheri in bulla Leonis X. novissimè damnatorum*.

An. 1520. He adds, that if the court of Rome were so liberal, it had only to give him wherewithal to raise twenty-five thousand infantry and five thousand horse, with which he would dispense with the safe-conduct from that court, and would not fail to appear, and render to his holiness a good account of his faith. But the pope kept his money for other purposes; for Luther asserts that it was known to a certainty, that there was a sum lying ready in the hands of bankers, to reward the first villain who would undertake to assassinate him. Luther, therefore, no longer observed any restraint, and addressed the pope himself in these thundering expressions: “ If you do
 “ not renounce your blasphemies and im-
 “ pieties, know that not I only, but all those
 “ who serve Jesus Christ, regard your see as
 “ the damnable seat of antichrist, to which
 “ we will neither pay obedience, nor be
 “ united. We detest it as the mortal enemy
 “ of Jesus Christ, being every one of us
 “ ready to suffer, with joy, your unjust ex-
 “ communications: and that you may be
 “ enabled to satiate your barbarous tyranny,
 “ we devote ourselves voluntarily to death.
 “ If you will still persevere in the madness
 “ with which you are possessed, we condemn
 “ you,

“ you, and deliver you over to Satan, together Ap. 1540.
 “ with your bull and your decretals, *to the*
destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be
saved in the day of Jesus Christ.” (1 Cor.
 v. 5.)

Luther's second work is much longer than the first, it being his design therein to defend the propositions which the court of Rome had condemned.

It must be candidly confessed that many of these propositions were censurable, considered by themselves, and independently of Luther's explanations. He took a pleasure in giving a paradoxical air, which created surprise by novelty; but, carried away by the desire of opposing received opinions, he ran into vicious extremes, and, in his turn, made use of expressions not only unguarded, but of dangerous consequence, from the impressions they must necessarily make upon the mind of the readers. Those who are desirous of convincing themselves of this from their own inspection, may consult the Remarks*, in which an extract from this work is to be found.

* See page 98.

AN. 1520.

While Luther was labouring in the defence of his doctrine, the pope's bull having been circulated every where, the universities of Cologne and Louvain were the first to signalize their zeal, by burning his books.

Luther is informed that his books are burnt by the pope's order: he burns the bull, the decree, and the decretals.

Aleander, who was at Louvain, exhibited this spectacle to the people on the day the emperor set out for Spain. An attempt was made to do the same at Antwerp, but it could not be accomplished. Those who undertook it at Mentz, did not execute it without danger; and if they escaped the fury of the people they endured their utmost contempt. In other places, the monks purchased this permission from the magistrates, who made them pay dear enough for it. Luther having been informed of the burning of his books, resolved to burn, in his turn, the decree, the decretals, the clementines, the extravagantes, and the bull issued by Leo. The ceremony took place the 10th of December. A pile was prepared in the market place; and Luther having repaired thither, accompanied by all the doctors of the university, followed by the people and the whole of the students, had the pile kindled by a master of arts, and cast the books

books into it, pronouncing at the same time An. 1520. these words: "Because thou hast troubled
 "the holy one of God, may eternal fire
 "consume thee *."

An action so bold required apology: Luther soon brought his forward. He stated, that, being a doctor of divinity, it was his duty to prevent impiety from increasing and acquiring authority; that it was proper to let the pope and his agents, who had dared to burn books in which the gospel was taught, know what treatment those writings deserved, upon which antichrist founded his tyranny; that it was necessary to revive the courage of the people, whom the violence done to the doctrine of Jesus Christ might terrify; and to shew, in fine, to all the world, that he, Luther, convinced that the pope was antichrist, had shaken off his yoke, and was resolved to sacrifice every thing to the truth of the doctrine he had taught. In this apology he introduced thirty impious propositions, taken from the decretals, of which the following are a part: "That the suc-

Luther justifies this act by a work in which he introduces a part of the impious positions of the decretals.

* "Quia turbasti sanctum Domini, æterno igne combureris." Ezekiel, chap. xxviii. 18. Joshua, chap. vii. 25.

"cessors

An. 1520. “cessors of St. Peter are not subject to the
 “command which that apostle gives to all
 “believers, to obey the temporal powers;
 “that the power of the emperor is as much
 “below that of the pope, as the light of the
 “moon is below that of the sun; that the
 “pope is superior to councils, and may
 “abolish their decrees; that all authority
 “resides in his person; that when he shall
 “please to send numberless souls to hell, no
 “one has a right to bring them out of it;
 “that no person is entitled to pass judgment
 “either on him or his decrees; that God has
 “given him sovereign power over all the
 “kingdoms of the earth, and over the
 “kingdom of heaven; that he is the heir
 “and master of the Roman empire; that he
 “may depose kings, and absolve from all
 “oaths and all vows; that he does not de-
 “pend on scripture, but that scripture, on
 “the contrary, derives its authority, force,
 “and dignity from him; that he alone has
 “the right of interpreting it, and that no
 “one can attempt it, except by following
 “the meaning which the pope affixes to the
 “words of scripture.” These impieties,
 and others of a similar kind, which Luther
 had collected together, were a specimen of
 the

the doctrine contained in the decretals, and of the reasons assigned by Luther for his conduct; but as he had also burned the *decretum* of Gratian, and as he himself acknowledged there were some good things in that collection *, he excuses himself by saying, that every thing therein was corrupted by the bad use made of it, which was to support the authority of antichrist. He concluded his apology with these words of Samson † “As they did unto me, so have I done unto them:” and those of the Apocalypse ‡: “Treat Babylon as she has treated you; and render unto her double what she has done unto you ||.”

The day after this execution, Luther, continuing his public lectures upon the Psalms, delivered a discourse upon “the necessity of renouncing obedience to the pope,” because he manifested an invincible hardness of heart.

An. 1520.
He delivers a discourse to his pupils upon the obligation of refusing obedience to the see of Rome.

* It was entitled, *Decretum, or Concordia discordantium canonum*, and, published in 1151. Vide *Collier*, under the head *Gratian*. M.

† Judges, chap. xv. 11.

‡ Apocalypse, chap. xviii. 6.

§ “Traitez Babylone comme elle vous a traité; rendez-lui au double ce qu'elle vous a fait.”

“There

An. 1520. "There is no middle path," said he among other things to his pupils, "for those who
 "aspire to the sacred ministry; *they must*
 "*either expose their lives by resisting the domi-*
 "*nion of error; or renounce eternal life by not*
 "*opposing it.* For my own part, I had rather
 "run all the dangers of the present times,
 "than load my conscience with the account
 "which I should have to render to God of a
 "criminal silence. On which account I this
 "day protest that I hold prostituted Babylon
 "in abhorrence. This is what I am resolved
 "to declare to my brethren as long as God
 "shall preserve my life." This discourse,
 with the action that preceded it, was, as it
 were, the solemn act of separation between
 Luther and the church of Rome; a resolution
 which he was induced to take, as he himself
 said, only by the unconquerable hardness of
 heart of the pope and his adherents; de-
 claring, at the same time, that he was always
 ready to reunite himself to the church of
 Rome, provided that church would consent
 to a reformation.

Leo X.
 sends two
 nuncios to
 the empe-
 ror.

While these things were going on at Wit-
 tenberg, the pope used his efforts to gain the
 elector of Saxony, who was gone to meet
 the emperor. There were in the suite of
 the

the latter two nuncios, whom Leo had sent An. 1520.
 to wait on him as soon as he arrived in the
 Low Countries; one to congratulate him
 upon his accession to the imperial dignity, the
 other to communicate with him on the subject
 of Luther. The first was Marinus Caraccioli,
 of a considerable house in the kingdom of
 Naples; the other, Jerome Aleander, of
 jewish extraction, native of a small city of
 Trevisan, called *La Motte*, a learned, able,
 ambitious man. He had been secretary to
 the famous Cæsar Borgia, nephew of Alexan-
 der VI. and was afterwards promoted to the
 dignity of archbishop of Brindisi, with which
 he was invested when the pope sent him into
 Germany. What Luther has said of him in
 the introduction to the Acts of the University
 of Louvain, is so much the more remarkable,
 as cardinal Pallavicini, who wished to defend
 his reputation, has not thought proper to
 reply to it. “He was born a jew: it is
 “not known whether he was baptised; but
 “it is well known that he is not of the sect
 “of the pharisees, for he lives in a manner
 “which shews but too clearly that he does
 “not believe in the resurrection of the
 “dead.” Aleander, in fact, passed for a
 true

An. 1520. true epicurean, so much were his manners corrupted *. This was the person to whom the affair of Luther was committed.

The two
nuncios
wait on the
elector ex-
pecting
Luther.

Frederick was at Cologne; he had followed the emperor thither, and taken up his residence with the Franciscans, where he had been hearing mass, when Caraccioli came to pay his respects to him, and presented him with a brief on the part of the pope. The bishops of Trent and Trieste, and some counsellors, accompanied the prince. The nuncio set out with extolling his merit, and that of his ancestors; he enlarged upon the esteem and affection the pope entertained for him, and did not fail to remind Frederick, that if he had the honour of electing the emperors,

* The following are some particulars, taken from the reply of Erasmus to Albert, count of Carpi, in 1529. Aleander, whom Erasmus designates by *Διηλοματοφωρος*, declared openly “Nihil egerimus nisi prius extincto Erasmo.” And afterwards: “Non parum offecit ejus (papæ) opinioni *διηλοματοφωρος* ille, tam insolenter se gerens, doctis et magnis etiam minitans, et omnia suis fumis implens; dixit apud me: pontifex romanus tot duces, tot comites sæpe dejecit; facile disjiciet tres pedicalos grammaticos. Idem aliis dixit: pontifex potest dicere Cæsari Carolo: tu es Cardo. Hujus collega (Caracciolus) dixit apud me: bene inveniemus illum ducem Fridericum, idque prorsus eo vultu, quo solent tetrici literatores pueris minari virgas.”

he was indebted for it to the holy see, which An. 1520. had given the empire to the Germans, and constituted or confirmed the electors. As Caraccioli was proceeding in his harangue, Aleander came in unexpectedly. All their measures, however, had been preconcerted, and as soon as the latter appeared, the former withdrew, saying to Frederick, that it was incumbent on him to leave to his colleague an affair with which he was specially charged. Aleander presented the elector with a second brief from the pope, took up the discourse of Caraccioli, and repeated nearly all he had said; then proceeding to speak of Luther, he enlarged upon the magnitude of his heresy, the danger into which it was leading the christian republic, and the pressing necessity of a prompt and effectual remedy. To remonstrances he added menaces; and by observing that the Greeks had lost the empire for having been wanting in fidelity to the holy see, he gave the elector to understand, that Leo X. who was master of that empire, had it in his power to take it from the German nation, to whom his predecessors had transferred it, for the purpose of conferring it upon a people attached to the see of Rome. His discourse was rather tedious, and he con-

An. 1520. cluded it by these two requisitions: the one that Frederick should cause all Luther's books to be burned in his dominions; the other that he should cause Luther himself to be committed to the flames, in order, by that sacrifice, to appease the court of Rome; or that, at least, he should keep him in close confinement, in case that he did not choose to send him to Rome in chains; which, however, would be more agreeable to the pope, and more suitable to an obedient prince.

The elector does not choose to answer the nuncio himself.

The elector listened to the whole of this discourse with a grave and serious air, and told the nuncio he would consider of it. A few days afterwards*, he replied through his counsellors, who signified on his part to the nuncio, in presence of the bishop of Trent, “ that the two princes, the elector and “ the duke his brother, had always entertained “ a high veneration for the holy see; that “ they had nothing to do with Luther's concerns, and were resolved not to interfere “ in them; that Frederick, nevertheless, had “ omitted nothing that could satisfy the pope; “ that he had sent Luther to Augsberg, and “ should have compelled him to leave his

* This was the on 4th of November.

“ dominions,

“ dominions, if Miltitz had not opposed it, An. 1529.
 “ by saying, that it was to be feared he would
 “ speak elsewhere with greater freedom than
 “ he then did; that Luther would afterwards
 “ have appeared before the archbishop of
 “ Treves, if a safe-conduct could have been
 “ granted him; that as to other matters, such
 “ different sentiments were entertained con-
 “ cerning his books, that it would, in his
 “ opinion, be precipitate to have them
 “ burned, before they were well examined;
 “ that he intreated the nuncios to suspend
 “ the execution of this measure, and to
 “ obtain from the pope that the decision of
 “ Luther’s cause should be committed to
 “ German prelates of acknowledged inte-
 “ grity and abilities; that if this mode were
 “ adopted, as he wished it might be, and if
 “ Luther were convicted of error by the
 “ scripture, he should not fail of doing, for
 “ the honour of the holy see, and the defence
 “ of religion, every thing his holiness could
 “ require from an obedient and faithful son.”

This prince made complaints, at the same
 time, to the nuncios against Eckius, inasmuch
 as in his country, and without his permission,
 he had had the audacity to include in the

An. 1520. papers he had posted up, upon the publication of the bull, persons not specially named in it*.

The nuncios dissatisfied are desirous of forcing the elector to give up Luther into the hands of the pope.

The nuncios, after having deliberated on this answer, insisted upon the pope's demands. They asserted that the commission of the archbishop of Treves had expired; that the pope had taken the affair entirely into his own hands; and that no more right existed to require him to assign the determination of this matter to any other, than to propose to the elector that the king of France should take cognizance of an affair relative to one of his subjects. But the counsellors of Frederick persisting in their master's reply, the nuncios declared that they would proceed to burn Luther's books †. It appeared, however, by a letter from the elector to the emperor, of the 20th of December, that the nuncios had promised him to suspend the execution of this act, and that prince complained of their having broken their word with him.

* These persons were Doltich de Veltkirche professor of divinity, and canon of Wittenberg; Carolstadius, Egranus, Bernard Adelmansfeldt, canon of Augsburg; Bilibald Pirkeimer, and Lazarus Sprengler of Nuremberg.

† This is the account given in the history of the transaction, in the second volume of his works.

But the promise made by the nuncios was An. 1520. doubtless posterior to what took place at the conference just related. However it might be, Aleander seeing clearly that he should not be able to get Luther out of the elector's hands, and that it was no less impossible to persuade him to put him to death, was desirous of repairing the odious and rash step he had taken, and of preserving the honour of the pope. He therefore declared to the counsellors of the elector that his holiness had no design against the life of Luther, and would be extremely sorry to imbrue his hands in his blood.

Erasmus was then at Cologn. He was Interview between the elector and Erasmus. esteemed the most learned man of his age in polite literature and in divinity. He had written to the elector, and this prince, who wished for advice and instruction in an affair so delicate and so obscure in his eyes, thought it incumbent on him to consult a man who was uninterested in the dispute, and whose learning and prudence were esteemed by all the world. He sent for him, the day after his reply to the nuncios, and Spalatinus was the only person present at their interview. Frederick was desirous that Erasmus should converse with him in Dutch,

An. 1520. but he chose rather to express himself in Latin, which the prince understood; but the latter not being in the habit of speaking that language, Spalatinus was his interpreter. After some civilities, he said to Erasmus, “ I have the highest antipathy to heresy, and “ I would rather that the earth should swallow “ me alive, than that I should support and “ favour it. But if Luther teach the truth, “ I never will suffer him to be crushed, let the “ danger of defending him be ever so great to “ me and mine. I confess that the points at “ issue are above my skill, and I do not pre- “ tend to judge, of myself, whether Luther “ be in the right or not: I wish to be in- “ formed, and to consult the learned. I “ have brought you here to know your opi- “ nion, and I entreat you to give it me with “ sincerity.”

Erasmus appeared surprised at this discourse; and whether it was that he was considering of his answer, or was afraid to explain himself, he remained for some time in silence. But the elector regarding him steadily, and with that grave and solemn air which appeared upon his countenance whenever he was engaged in any affair of importance, Erasmus at last broke silence. “ Lu-
“ ther,”

“ther,” said he, “has committed two capital offences. He has struck at the crown of the pope, and the belly of the monks.”

The prince could not refrain from laughing, and never forgot this reply. Erasmus continuing his discourse, admitted that Luther was justified in attacking the abuses introduced into the church; that it was necessary they should be corrected; that the foundation of his doctrine was true, but that he could have wished for greater moderation.

Spalatinus attended Erasmus to the house of the provost of the chapter *. As soon as they had arrived there, Erasmus took a chair, and immediately wrote in short and distinct sentences † his opinion concerning Luther. This writing he put into the hands of Spalatinus to convey to his master: and as it contained the opinion which, not only Erasmus, but the most worthy part of mankind, entertained at that time of Luther, it will not be improper to give the substance of it. He observed, then, “that the violence of Luther’s enemies proceeded from two principles, first,

Opinion of Erasmus respecting Luther, which does great honour to the latter.

* This provost was Henry count *Nucnaire*.

† These are to be found among Luther’s works in 1520, under the title of *Axiomata Erasmi Roterodami*.

An. 1520. “ an averſion to polite literature, which was
 “ beginning to extricate mankind from ig-
 “ norance, and of courſe from the yoke of
 “ the monks; and ſecondly, the deſire of
 “ ſupporting tyranny at all events; that they
 “ conducted this buſineſs in a manner ſuita-
 “ ble to ſuch bad principles, ſupporting their
 “ cauſe only by clamour, by intrigues and
 “ conſpiracies, by inveterate hatred, and by
 “ poiſonous writings; that whoever inter-
 “ fered became ſuſpected; that men of the
 “ greateſt worth, and the moſt converſant in
 “ ſcripture, were not offended at what Lu-
 “ ther had written; that it was well known
 “ there were perſons who abuſed the eaſineſs
 “ of the pope, and that therefore it was the
 “ part of prudence not to precipitate any
 “ thing in an affair of ſuch high importance,
 “ and which would undoubtedly be produc-
 “ tive of conſequences much greater than
 “ were imagined; that the cruelty of the
 “ bull had diſgusted the worthieſt part of the
 “ community, who eſteemed it unworthy of
 “ the charity and mildneſs of a vicar of Jeſus
 “ Chriſt; that two univerſities only had, as
 “ yet, condemned Luther; that they had
 “ done ſo without convicting him of error, and
 “ even without being themſelves agreed upon
 “ the

“ the points condemned; that the conditions An. 1520.
 “ which Luther offered were equitable, seeing
 “ he was willing to support his doctrine in a
 “ public disputation, and to submit it to the
 “ examination of enlightened and upright
 “ judges; that his adversaries advanced po-
 “ sitions which struck all pious persons with
 “ horror; that, being void of ambition, Luther
 “ ought to be supposed to be actuated by greater
 “ zeal than his adversaries, who were visibly
 “ labouring for their private interest; that the
 “ pope ought to have the glory of Jesus
 “ Christ, and the salvation of souls, more at
 “ heart than his own glory and advantage;
 “ that although it should have been necessary
 “ to come to the extremities to which they
 “ had proceeded, it was evident the same
 “ had been adopted with too much precipi-
 “ tation and out of season; that the state of
 “ affairs in the empire and the interest of the
 “ emperor required that the beginning of his
 “ reign should not be stained with barbrous
 “ executions, which would be a bad omen
 “ of that which was to follow; that the pope
 “ himself was interested in accommodating
 “ this affair by the mediation of wise, pru-
 “ dent, and judicious persons, and that this was
 “ the best means of supporting his dignity;
 “ that

An. 1520. "that Luther's adversaries wrote things
 "which even those divines, who were the
 "most opposite to him in opinion, disap-
 "proved; that, in fine, the world sighed for
 "evangelical doctrine, and that it would be
 "extremely dangerous to oppose the general
 "wish in an odious and violent manner."

The opi-
 nion of
 Erasmus is
 printed
 without his
 knowledge.

In this statement we find displayed the true
 causes of the progress of the reformation; a
 great knowledge of the business respecting
 Luther; and a prudence keen, penetrating, and
 almost prophetic, joined with the greatest
 candour. Erasmus might readily have said all
 the above to the elector in the private conver-
 sation he held with him; but for a man re-
 solved to remain neuter, it was hazarding too
 much to commit such opinions to writing.
 From the moment therefore that Spalatinus
 left him to take the writing to his master, he
 trembled at the danger into which he had
 brought himself, and wrote to him at the
 instant to conjure him to return to him, as
 he was undone if Aleander should see it.
 His manuscript was returned, but a copy was
 first taken of it; and, what was more dis-
 tressing, this copy was printed at Leipsick,
 with an account of the interview he had had
 with the elector. Both Luther and Spalatinus
 protested

protested that they had nothing to do with An. 1520.
 this publication. It is not known who caused
 it to be done; and it remained doubtful
 whether it proceeded from a wish to
 serve Luther, or to embroil him with Eras-
 mus, who was extremely irritated at the
 treachery used to him, and the danger to
 which he was exposed by the publication of
 his secret sentiments. However it might
 be, this step gave great chagrin to both par-
 ties. Erasmus did not admit all which it
 was pretended he had written and said; but
 Aleander entertained no doubt of it; and
 although he had been one of his friends, and
 was even under obligations to him, he did
 every thing in his power afterwards to ruin
 him, after having in vain endeavoured to en-
 gage him to write against Luther by the
 promise of a bishopric.

It is even said, that one day being much
 pressed, Erasmus replied, that the under-
 taking was beyond his powers, and that he
 found more true divinity in one page of
 Luther's writings, than in all the compendium
 of St. Thomas. Attempts were also made
 to gain Luther by great offers, but they were
 rejected in such a manner, as caused Aleander
 to let slip these expressions: "He is a fero-
 cious

Erasmus will
 not write
 against Lu-
 ther; and
 the latter is
 not to be se-
 duced by
 promises.

An. 15:0. "cious brute whom nothing can soften, and
 "who regards riches and honours as mere
 "dirt; otherwise the pope, long before this,
 "would have loaded him with benefits."

The elector
 intreats the
 emperor to
 hear Luther
 before he
 condemns
 him.

The elector, confirmed by the opinion of Erasmus in the esteem he had for Luther, solicited the emperor more than ever, to give him a hearing before he was condemned, and intreated William, duke of Crouy, and the count of Nassau, governor of Holland, to support this request. Crouy was a man of merit, who had brought up Charles the fifth as an emperor ought to be. He entertained equitable sentiments towards Luther, being acquainted with a part of the abuses, and not disapproving of the reformation. The count of Nassau knew them still better; and it is reported that some priests having applied to him at the Hague, he addressed them in these words*: "Go and preach the gospel in purity, as Luther preaches it; do not give cause of offence, and you will have no reason to complain of any one."

* The emperor d. fires
 the elector
 to bring Luther to the
 diet of
 Worms.

Charles was indebted to the elector, and had still occasion for his services; he esteemed

* This is taken from a little book, which was printed at that time, and which is to be met with in the library at Leipstick.

the

the great virtues of this prince, whom the whole empire respected; and when the nuncios solicited him, on the part of the pope, to condemn and proscribe Luther, he had replied of his own free will, “that he must, “in the very first place, consult his father, the “elector of Saxony, and that he would then “give his answer to the pope.” Influenced by these sentiments, the emperor wrote to Frederick, who had returned to his own territories, that the nuncios were continually soliciting to have Luther’s books burned all over Germany; but recollecting that he had promised to the duke of Crouy and the count of Nassau, not to take any decisive step against Luther before he had been heard, he requested the elector to bring him with him to Worms, where he would give orders for his security; and that, in the meanwhile, he should take care to forbid Luther to write against the pope. This letter was accompanied by two others, one from the duke of Crouy, the other from the count of Nassau, the contents of which were to the same purpose. The diet ought regularly to have been held at Nuremberg, according to the golden bull, which directs that the emperor should assemble the first diet he holds after his coronation.

An. 1520. nation in that city; but it was removed to Worms on account of the plague then raging at Nuremberg.

The elector
excuses him-
self from
bringing
Luther to
Worms.

The elector had too much' prudence to undertake the charge of conducting Luther to Worms. It would have been to declare himself too openly his protector. He wrote therefore to Charles * " that he had never
" pretended either to defend the books or
" the discourses of Luther, as he had fre-
" quently protested; that if he had intreated
" his imperial majesty to suspend the execu-
" tion of the bull, it was to avoid precipita-
" tion in a delicate matter, in which religion
" and the peace of the empire were con-
" cerned, and respecting which people were
" not sufficiently informed; that, moreover,
" the person accused offered to appear at any
" place to which he should be cited, pro-
" vided equitable judges were assigned him;
" and that in the last place the nuncios them-
" selves had promised him the means of an
" amicable settlement." He added, " that he
" had learned with astonishment that Carac-
" cioli and Aleander, in violation of the
" promise they had given him, had done

* The elector's letter is from Alsted, and dated the 20th of December.

" every

“ every thing in their power to expedite the An. 1520.
 “ burning of Luther’s books at Cologne and
 “ Mentz ; that they ought to have refrained
 “ from these violent measures, at least in con-
 “ sideration to him ; and so much the more,
 “ as thy did not, he believed, act in pur-
 “ suance of the emperor’s orders ; and that
 “ such a procedure being calculated only to
 “ drive Luther to extremities, he could not
 “ be answerable for his not attempting, in his
 “ turn, some action, that might render his
 “ journey to Worms both difficult and dan-
 “ gerous.” Frederick, with much address,
 insinuated to the emperor what had actually
 taken place at Wittenberg ten days before,
 when Luther had caused both the ordinance
 and decretals to be burned. He concluded
 by entreating his majesty “ to dispense with
 “ his bringing Luther to Worms, and not to
 “ give credit to the false reports in circula-
 “ tion, that he meditated pernicious designs
 “ against the christian religion.”

Before any thing more could be done in
 this affair, it was necessary to know whether
 Luther had the courage to appear at Worms,
 in case he was summoned thither. Fre-
 derick directed Spalatinus to learn his inten-
 tions.

The elector
 makes en-
 quiry whe-
 ther Luther
 is willing to
 appear be-
 fore the
 emperor.
 Luther’s
 answer.

Ans. 1520. tions *. He replied, “ that he looked upon
 “ the orders of his imperial majesty as a call
 “ from heaven, which he would never resist;
 “ that if any attempt were made on his per-
 “ son, he would recommend himself to God,
 “ who had preserved the young Hebrews in
 “ the furnace; that Jesus Christ alone could
 “ judge what was most serviceable to re-
 “ ligion and to the state, whether he should
 “ live to defend the truth, or whether he
 “ should die in the confession of it; but
 “ that whatever it should please Him to ap-
 “ point, he was ready to obey Him; and
 “ that he would never expose the gospel to
 “ the insults of the wicked by giving them
 “ occasion to say, that he was afraid to avow
 “ the truth which he had taught, or to shed
 “ his blood for its confirmation. I have but
 “ one thing,” continues he, “ to ask of God,
 “ namely, that he will not permit his im-
 “ perial majesty to dishonour the outset of
 “ his reign by unjust punishments, and by
 “ the protection of impiety. I have repeat-
 “ edly declared I would rather perish by the
 “ hands of the agents of Rome, than that

* Luther's letter is dated the 21st of December.

“ the emperor should be involved in such a An. 1526.
 “ crime, or the evils which will ensue from
 “ it. You are acquainted with the misfor-
 “ tunes that pursued the emperor Sigismund
 “ after the death of John Hus. He saw all
 “ his sons perish ; Ladislas, the son of his
 “ daughter, died soon after ; by which means
 “ his whole family became extinct in the
 “ course of one generation. His wife Barbe
 “ was the disgrace of queens. You are not
 “ ignorant of the other calamities which op-
 “ pressed him. If, however,” added he, “ it
 “ be the pleasure of God that I should be
 “ delivered up not only to pontiffs but
 “ to nations, His will be done : such is my
 “ determination. You may expect every
 “ thing of me except flight or recantation.
 “ May God strengthen me in this resolution !”
 A reply so heroic and so christian rejoiced the
 elector, and he even began to entertain
 hopes.

The states of the empire, in fact, seemed All the members of the empire wish for a reformation.
 disposed to the reformation. The emperor,
 young as he was, inclined to it, either induced
 by the grandees who were about his person,
 or struck with the tyranny of the court of
 Rome, to which his ancestors had so often
 attempted to set bounds. This inclination
 was even so prevalent in the empire, that it

An. 1520. had extended to the ecclesiastical princes. The cardinal of Mentz, although timid and voluptuous in the extreme, entertained the same sentiments. The archbishop of Treves, a man of understanding and of great capacity in affairs, was a wise and prudent prince; and although attached to the pope, had prevented the burning of Luther's books in his diocese. George duke of Saxony, whose emulation of the elector his cousin approached to envy, and inclined him perpetually to counteract him; this very prince (who otherwise was the irreconcilable enemy of Luther, so far as to retain in his pay, Emser, the most violent of all Luther's adversaries, to write against him) was so persuaded of the necessity of a reformation, that he introduced a plan into the diet of Worms, which is still in existence, and which contained twelve articles. The sixth, which related to indulgences, was conceived in these terms:—"The
 " monks extol them with the most consum-
 " mate effrontery; their only end is to amass
 " money; and for this purpose the preacher
 " preaches only impostures and untruths, in-
 " stead of preaching the gospel." The memoir concluded with these words: "The
 " great source of the damnation of souls is
 " the scandal afforded by the clergy. For

“ this reason it is necessary to labour for a An. 1520.
 “ general reformation; and as this cannot
 “ be anywhere accomplished more advan-
 “ tageously than in a general council, we all
 “ require that it be immediately convoked.”

It ought not to create surprise that the princes adopted these dispositions. Almost the whole body of the learned, who made a part of their councils, or of the senate of the cities, agreed in opinion that Luther's books contained excellent matter; that he was right in attacking the abuses, and that advantage ought to be taken of his suggestions. We shall have occasion afterwards to remark this disposition in the states of the empire assembled at Worms*; and there existed besides such an universal curiosity to see and hear a man who had made so much noise in the world, that as soon as mention was made of summoning Luther, the emperor perceived that it was the general wish. Meanwhile the friends of Luther, who had been desirous of it at first, changed that desire into apprehension upon finding he had taken the resolution of going, and

Luther's friends entertain apprehensions for him in case he should appear before the emperor.

* Luther wrote to Staupitz, Ep. cexi. lib. 1. “ Spalatinus sends me word that he finds at Worms such inclination and zeal for the gospel, that he hopes they will not condemn me without having given me a hearing, and even without having convinced me of error.”

An. 1520. upon contemplating more closely all the consequences of the journey. The emperor was beset by the nuncios and by the partisans of the court of Rome; he was young, and his firmness could scarcely be relied on. His council was divided into two contending factions, for the principal place in his favour, and in the administration of affairs. The Flemings were already in possession of it. Crouy, who had been his governor, was the highest in his confidence, and retained the first situation. The Spanish courtiers were so jealous of this, that not being able to dispossess him, they poisoned, as is believed, both him and the archbishop of Toledo his nephew. These two parties never accorded; it was certain, therefore, that there would be one of them to fight against, and Luther had reason to fear that this might be the more powerful of the two, as really happened. Charles, on the other hand, who had just carried the imperial dignity from Francis I. and who dreaded the resentment of his rival, wished to attach the pope to his side; on which account he was more or less favourable to the nuncios in proportion as their master entered into his interests, or withdrew himself from them. For this reason, those who had a true affection for Luther, dreaded to hazard his person,

person, upon the faith of a young prince, A2. 1520.
 who was too much exposed to the artifices of the ministers of Rome, and to the different movements of the two parties in his council, to take a decided resolution, especially at a conjuncture when his own interests might constrain him to act contrary to his inclination. In fact, it was remarked, that since the death of Crouy, the emperor entirely changed his plan of conduct, and that the nuncios, who were favoured by the Spaniards, stood the highest with him. Nevertheless, since there was no other method of stopping the proscription against Luther, and as he himself was resolved upon appearing at Worms, his friends saw clearly that all risks must be run; and that to providence must be committed an event, the consequences of which were so uncertain.



WHEN the original of this work appeared at Berlin in the year 1785, the first volume was printed separate from the rest, and the remainder promised upon the favourable reception of that volume *. In like manner should the public receive with favour the present translation, it will certainly afford a great inducement to the translator to proceed with the remaining

* See translation of the preface to the Berlin edition.

volumes. It may not, however, be improper here to remark, that the original, when completely published at Berlin, extended to four volumes; and that the volume, now presented in English, includes a part of the second volume of the original, it being intended to comprize the whole in three volumes. The history, therefore, is continued in the present volume, to the close of the year 1520*. I may with some confidence hope, that this deviation will not be disapproved, when it is understood that the same has been adopted in consequence of the opinion of the Bishop of Oxford, whose kind attention to this work I have had more than once occasion to mention. M.

* The first volume of the original ends in the above year, with the words, *Il dit la même chose ailleurs*—"He asserts the same in another place." See p. 348. lines 8 & 9.

APPENDIX.

N^o I.

COGNOVI ex literis amicorum, te cardinalem esse creatum; congratulor et tibi, qui pro tuâ virtute digna consequutus es præmia, et mihi, cujus amicus in eâ dignitate constitutus es, in quâ me meosq. necessarios aliquando juvare poteris. Illud mihi molestum, quod in ea tempora incidisti quæ sedem apostolicam afflicta videantur. Nam domino meo Archiepiscopo frequentes adferuntur de Romano Pontifice querelæ, qui neque Constantiensis neque Basiliensis decreta consilii custodit, neque se pactioibus antecessoris sui teneri arbitratur, nationemque nostram contemnere et prorsus exhaurire videtur. Constat enim electiones Prælatorum passim rejici, beneficia dignitatesq. cujusvis qualitatis, et

cardinalibus et protonotariis reservari. Et tu quidem ad tres provincias Teutonici nominis sub eâ formulâ reservationem impetraſti, quæ hæcenus inſolita eſt et inaudita. Expectativæ gratiæ ſine numero conceduntur : annales, ſive medii fructus, abſque ullâ dilatione temporis exiguntur ; et plus etiam quam debetur extorqueri palam eſt : eccleſiarum regimina non magis merenti, ſed plus offerenti committuntur : ad contrahendas pecunias novæ indulgentiæ indies conceduntur : decimarum exactiones inconſultis prælatis noſtris Turcorum cauſâ fieri jubentur : cauſæ, quæ tractandæ terminandæq. in partibus fuerunt, ad apoſtolicum tribunal indiſtinctè trahuntur : excogitantur mille modi, quibus Romana ſedes aurum ex nobis, tanquam ex barbaris, ſubtili extrahat ingenio : ob quas res natio noſtra quondam inclyta, quæ ſuâ virtute ſuoq. ſanguine Romanum Imperium coemit, fuitq. mundi domina et regina, nunc ad inopiam redacta, ancilla et tributaria facta eſt, et in ſqualore jacens, ſuam fortunam, ſuam pauperiem multos jam annos mœret. Nunc vero quaſi ex ſomno excitati optimates noſtri, quibus remediis huic calamitati obviam pergant, cogitare cœperunt, jugumq. prorſus excutere, et ſe in priſtinam vindicare libertatem decreverunt.

decreverunt. Erit hæc non parva jactura Romanæ curiæ, si, quod cogitant, Romani principes effecerint. Quantum itaque et tuâ novâ dignitate lætor, tantum commoveor et angor tuo tempore hoc parari. Sed Dei fortasse alia est cogitatio, et illius profecto sententia obtinebit. Tu interim bonum habeto animum, et quibus repagulis fluminis impetus coerceri possit, pro tuâ sapientiâ cogitato. Vale optime.

Moguntiaë, Prid. Calend. Septemb. 1457.

I HAVE learned by letters from my friends that you have been made a cardinal; I congratulate both you, who have received the due reward of your virtue, and myself in having a friend elevated to a dignity, in consequence of which, benefits may hereafter arise to me and my connexions. It afflicts me, however, that this event has taken place at a period when troubles seem to threaten the apostolical see. For various are the complaints which are brought to my Lord the archbishop, of the Roman pontiff, who pays no regard either to the decrees of the council of Constance or of Basle, nor does he think himself at all bound to the observance

servance of the engagements entered into by his predecessor, but seems to hold our nation in contempt while he is exhausting its resources.

In proof of this it appears that the elections of prelates are every where rejected: that benefices and dignities, of whatever quality they may be, are reserved for cardinals and prothonotaries: and even you yourself have obtained the reservation of three provinces of the Teutonic order, under that prescription, a thing hitherto not only unusual, but unheard of. Grants in expectancy are conceded without number: first, or medial fruits are required without any allowance of time; and it is well known that even more than of right can be claimed is forcibly taken. The direction of churches is committed, not to those who are most deserving, but to those who bid the highest for them. New indulgences are daily granted for the purpose of amassing money. Tithes, without the knowledge of the prelates, are directed, under pretence of the 'Turks, to be exacted. Causes in due process for legal determination are indiscriminately dragged before the apostolical tribunal: innumerable
means,

means are devised by which the Roman see may with subtile ingenuity extract gold from us, as from barbarians. By all these measures our country, once of high renown, that by her valour and her blood established the Roman empire, and was the mistress and queen of the world, is now reduced to poverty, is become a servant and a tributary, and mourns, through many a year, her former greatness, her present humiliation.

But the time is come when our grandees, awakened as it were from sleep, have begun to consult what remedies they may oppose to this evil, and have determined entirely to shake off the yoke, and to reinstate themselves in their former freedom. The loss, in truth, will not be small to the court of Rome, if the Roman princes shall be able to effect what they have purposed. In proportion, therefore, as I rejoice at your new accession of dignity, so am I grieved and concerned that your days are threatened with such commotions. But the designs of the Almighty are, perhaps, far different; and His designs will assuredly be accomplished. Do you, in the meanwhile, be of good courage; and, as far as your foresight and prudence will reach, consider by what mounds
and

and barricadoes the force of the torrent may be most effectually stemmed. Farewell, my excellent friend !

Mentz, 31st August 1457.

N° II.

I do promise, vow, and swear to observe and fulfil all and every the premises in and by all matters and things, purely, simply, and with good faith, really and truly, and subject to the consequences of perjury and anathema, from which I will neither absolve myself, nor will I authorize any other person to absolve me. So help me God, and these holy gospels !

N° III.

The French word *Martyr* is thus defined by Furetiere :

“ Celui qui souffre des peines, des supplices, et même la mort pour la defence de
 “ Jesus Christ, et de son eglise, pour témoignage de la verité de son evangile.”

He who suffers pains, punishments, and even death in defence of Jesus Christ, and of his church, in testimony of the truth of his gospel.

By

By this it appears that persons suffering in the cause of christianity were denominated martyrs *before* death; and that their *recommendations* were considered as *acts of martyrs*, is evident from the account given of them by Mr. de Beaufobre.

N° IV.

The expression in the original is, “*la justice* de mon Seigneur et de mon Sauveur “&c.” The French word *justice*, in its theological acception, is thus defined by Mr. de Furetiere :

“Les theologiens distinguent en Jesus Christ deux *justices* : la *justice passive*, qui “consiste dans les souffrances qu’il a endurées pour nous, et sa *justice active* qui est “l’obeïssance qu’il a renduë à la loi morale, “pendant tout le tems de sa vie. Il y a des “theologiens qui croient que non seulement “la *justice passive* de Jesus Christ, mais encore sa *justice active* nous sont imputées.”

Dict. Universel,

Theologians distinguish in Jesus Christ two kinds of righteousness: first, *passive righteousness*,

ness, which consists in the sufferings he has endured for us; and, secondly, his *active righteousness*, which is the obedience rendered by him to the moral law, during the whole course of his life. There are theologians who believe that not only the *passive*, but also the *active, righteousness* of Jesus Christ is imputed to us.

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